SOCIOLOGY
— AND —
SOCIAL RESEARCH
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SOCIOLOGY AND MYSTICISM

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THE SIGNIFICANCE of religion consists in the fact that it creates an environment of value-forms over and above man's physical and social environment, so that the conflicts in the latter may be abolished or harmonized. It is philosophy which first postulates the values, but it is religion which brings these home to the individual in the form of specific emotional reactions. In the history of religions we find that it is the variety in man's tendencies and dispositions as well as in his philosophy which account for the variety of the objects of worship and religious dogmas. Religious objects and doctrines like all human contrivances and works show, indeed, a variegated pattern. Each religion is bound up with the entire social fabric, ethics, and philosophy of a people. It is out of the specific action-attitudes, emotions, and ideas of a people that art and religion, myth and dream are all fashioned. As civilization progressed man acquired greater control over nature and also greater emancipation from the social pressure. Thus his emotional reactions gradually became more and more specific, his ideas and symbols came to be fashioned more and more out of the raw material of individual desires and attitudes. This implies a change from social to individual religion. With an increase of mystical inward-

ness the mind gradually separates itself from the social or traditional setting of the religious emotion which has been the mystic's starting point. Finally with the complete dissociation of the mind from the symbol or image, the mystic becomes a free man and his ideas and feelings cease to belong to a particular religion, but belong to all. Personal religion, which is *par excellence* man's self expression, has its appeal to man everywhere. It is a Universal Religion.

Man's attitude to God has a variety and uniqueness that belong to the individual. Religions which jealously maintain their creeds as inviolable properties and do not tolerate individual experimentation are theologies and do not satisfy the needs of vital adaptation. On the other hand, the religious tradition in which an individual is born ought never be disregarded because nothing can offer a safer guidance in conflict and despair than the accumulated religious experience of the past. As in every field of valuation individual experience and group tradition are equally important as formative factors in religion. Rigid creeds which exclude all individual initiative and spontaneity may become correct and proper but nothing spreads cynicism and atheism more than these. On the other hand, the freedom of the mystical consciousness is only possible as a result of the aid to the discipline and expression of thought, will, and emotions that past religious experience furnishes. Finally, there is no doubt that man at no distant day will be able to transvalue the values and experiences of the great historic religions in his individual life, and adopting, for instance, the discipline of the Hindu or Buddhist Yogee, the Christian saint and the Mussulman Sufi, fuse all religious values in some measure. We shall then have, not one concrete Universal Religion, but forms of mysticism which will be more universal in their appeal and richer in their contents than ever before due to the reciprocal influence and assimilation of the different religions.

It is for this reason that the religious creeds, doctrines, and ceremonies of all nations deserve close scientific study in the evolution of man's religious values and experiences. It is only when we see the religious experiences of particular peoples in their proper ethical and philosophical setting that we can expect a synthesis and resultant sympathy between the different historical religions.

The time is not yet come when we can rightly discriminate between theology and religion in each culture and estimate the contribution of each religion to the religious consciousness of humanity. Each religion no doubt presents an ideal *socius* or self which satisfies perfectly all values, and it is only by coordination of the satisfactions and excellences that the great religions of the world stand for, that we can understand Universal Humanity. The comparative study of philosophy has begun. The appreciation of aesthetic attitudes also has commenced. Thus an appreciation of the universal value-forms which are embodied in the great religions of the world must not lag behind. For if there is anything which can bring races and peoples together it is the passionate affirmation of unity before the All-Good, the ardent yet not wholly successful desire of man everywhere to identify himself with the supreme standard of goodness that his religion sets up for him.

It is not an easy task to separate the kernel of value-forms from the chaff of inherited theology. Modern science has ruthlessly dismissed the cosmogomies of many religions, and given a new view of the origins of man, the earth, sun, and moon, while both heaven and hell have been banished from creation. Modern history has questioned the validity of revelations of many gods and prophets, found some scriptures spurious and exposed the greed and cunning of priesthoods. Modern psychology has built

up a new view of human nature, which has run counter
to ancient doctrines of original sin and individual salva-
tion. It has exposed alike the grossness of many erotic
cults and rituals, and the prudishness of those which fail
to recognize that love of God and the man-to-woman rela-
tion have the same mechanisms. Through the records of
saints, and sinners, it has distinguished between the erratic
and hysterical outbursts of abnormal individuals and in-
spirational experiences of true mystics.

In the meanwhile the machine and standardization have
become worldwide forces which have changed man's rela-
tion to his fellow man and his attitude towards the environ-
ing universe. Man's work, aspirations, and values are to-
day moulded after one pattern. Man today sees his fellow
man more as a means than as an end, and this strikes at
the root of all higher values including religion. His tools
and machinery similarly elicit specialized types of interest
which can not be assimilated into the religious attitude.
The rise of the denatured city and of tenements and lodg-
ings where men think, feel, and act in crowds as well as the
abandonment of the plain, simple, secluded life, responsive
to nature and to human fellowship have everywhere been
fatal to the religious life. An adequate religious system
must have to grapple not merely with the implications of
modern science but also with the social and ethical results
of machine-driven industrialism.

If religion has survived so many changes in the phase of
culture, in social organization, and in man's attitude to
the universe, there is no reason why religion will not
be able to assimilate the laws of energy in physics and the
phenomena of standardization in sociology. Religion
dispensed with magic, ghosts, and angels as man acquired
a greater control of nature. It superseded animal guard-
ian spirits by tribal gods and national deities, as society

expanded. It changed the direct worship of the sun and moon into a mediate worship of God as Light when man knew more astronomy. Throughout its past history religion interpreted the cruder theologies and cult-forms of the past symbolically or mystically in obedience to new intellectual needs and attitudes. Some such attempts at substitution or compromise are today required in all world religions and, indeed, all have set themselves now to the task of re-orienting their thinking.

That religion will succeed most in this task which offers the greatest scope to the individual for religious thinking and experimentation. On the other hand, a religion which formulates a rigid creed to the individual that he must accept to obtain salvation, or which is dominated by an authoritative priesthood, has the least opportunity to evolve new attitudes and interpretations out of the old. Professor Hayden contrasts the opportunities of Christianity and Hinduism in this connection: "While all religions are facing the necessity of modernizing their thinking, the problem is the same for all. Naturally the task is most difficult where, as in Christianity, creeds have been formally accepted and are enforced by recognized authority. Even though the authority may be challenged, the fundamentals, charged with emotional value, tend to give form to the thinking of the modernists. In contrast, the almost universal tolerance of Hinduism, in the realm of thought, offers a free field for any one who feels the necessity of formulating a more adequate religious system. The fundamentals lie elsewhere."

The distinction that the "fundamentals" are not in the realm of religious ideology is rooted in the nature of Eastern culture itself. Amongst a people, heterogeneous in their ethnic composition and presenting striking contrasts both in the levels of civilization and in beliefs and theolo-

gies religion cannot but be eclectic, syncretic, and synthetic. The assimilation of cultures and customaries is here the sociological background on which the religious ideology is built up. Here we have, therefore, the least emphasis of an imperative creed, and the greatest scope for individual experimentation. In Hinduism, we find a toleration of totemic beliefs, animistic observances, and strange superstitions and cult-forms which belong to primitive religion, side by side with the ancient monotheism and transcendentalism. "The scriptures are different; their interpretation is different; there is no saint without a belief of his own. The truths of religion are hidden. Let us follow the path trodden by great men." This is the way of Hinduism. Similarly in China Confucianism is more of a system of social ethics than of religious dogmas; and hence the Chinese *literati* have an ample scope for independent religious thinking. The world is suffering today from the bleak institutional standardization, whether of industry or of state, which has come in the wake of science. This has proved corrosive of ancient values in vital modes of association. Both the Great Society and the Big Business have, indeed, been breaking through the social control exercised by myriads of small groups and associations. Guilds, castes, village communities, agricultural and mercantile associations are all endangered and the decline of group loyalties and of traditional controls of religions has gone together. It is now realized that the traditions of voluntary social cooperation must not be allowed to lapse without risks of grave moral loss. Thus in advanced social and industrial programs, the re-orientation of the local, occupational, or functional groups comes in the forefront in order that the East might not repeat the evils of standardization. In India, China, and Japan the numerous territorial and functional groups have been strengthened by

the vitality and exuberance of cult- and thought-forms. Religious and social pluralism have aided each other. The building up of a social democracy by a rehabilitation of local and functional groups or of a new industry on the foundations of guilds and cooperatives has caught the idealism of many leaders. It is in this social crisis that the religious pluralism which has its roots in the variegated institutional life of Eastern peoples assumes a world significance.

For the modern problem today is the challenge to man's creativeness by a world-imprisoning standardization with its shibboleth of mechanical as opposed to vital and purposive efficiency. The problems arising from the disintegration of free elastic groups and the lapse of individual initiative and spontaneity in every field of social life can only be tackled by a modern religious world-view. Indeed, such a view is forced upon all religions in order that the life of the spirit might be saved. But this comes more easily from cultures which have never admitted the supremacy of a rigid imperative creed or an ecclesiastical system, but have afforded the greatest possible scope to individual desires and aspirations in religious life.

Herein lies the true significance of religious mysticism in solving the present social crisis arising out of standardization and conventionalism. It is the mystical intuition which alone can find a richer and more perfect unity and harmony of life and society. Mysticism exalts the common life of man to the dignity equal to that of gods. "Know ye not that ye are a temple of God and that the spirit of God dwelleth in you?" It is only through a God-inspired conviction of the worth of man that society can be saved from the perils of exploitation and mechanical standardization. "The common man is God who shares the common lot with man, labours and sweats for his bread, he

shares the soil with his plough and sows and grows his crops that wave in the golden sun; he reaps and gathers grain by grain, does all but not for him."[1] The religious recognition of persons as finalities of thought and action can alone eradicate falsehood and injustice in human and social relations while it will furnish the basis of free and spontaneous groups and associations as opposed to the institutionalism and standardization of today that subserve instrumental as opposed to final or purposive efficiency. There is today a separation between intrinsic or final and instrumental or economic ends which is corroding social life. Mysticism imports final or spiritual values into the common daily life and relations of men. Where every man seeks the final good, social consciousness itself is heightened and deepened by the constant presence of the final good in each and every individual. Thus it is the latter which inspires the meaning of group life. On the other hand, no group life or behavior will excite the same community of feelings and ideas which are not keyed up to the final good. Thus the love of God, and the love of one's neighbor or the diverse sentiments in groups and associations are at bottom the same aspiration towards the unity and harmony of life. It is society where the individual realizes in sentiment and action his unity with and experience of the Divine. Thus every social endeavor, every fine and delicate adjustment to the social order, every group sentiment, is a dynamic apprehension of God who, like Society, is neither exhausted within us nor lives without us.

[1] Poems on Simran: Puran Singh's Sisters of the Spinning Wheel, and other Sikh poems (translated).

A COMMUNITY RESEARCH EXCHANGE

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FOR SOME YEARS NOW social service exchanges have been an accepted part of the social program of all our larger towns and cities. This medium through which a case worker can secure both the information concerning a client which has been previously gathered by other agencies and a record of the attempts which others have made to deal with his problems has so raised the efficiency of social work that the necessity for such an organization is recognized as a matter of course.

Today a similar organization for the funding and exchange of basic social data concerning communities and neighborhoods would go a long distance in solving another major problem for both social workers and social scientists. For we are coming more and more to realize that human life is indeed an intricate web of interrelationships and that the understanding of any social problem depends not on isolated study of individuals or institutions, but upon the study of them in relation to the social milieu in which they function and develop. And yet, while most of us admit this truth, the very complexity of our modern social environments makes it practically impossible for any one of us to collect these essential background data either by himself or as a part of an already crowded program.

It is a generally accepted principle among business men, social workers, and social scientists alike that their policies and theories must be based upon a knowledge of facts. But while the statement of this principle is trite it is far

from being attained. Individual social agencies, businesses, and schools are spending much time and energy in carrying on investigations, yet the persons conducting them are usually out of touch with one another, the data collected are not related nor exchanged, and there is an appalling duplication of effort. And even at best, as we have discovered in our Chicago studies, if the findings of these researches are pieced together they give only a partial, inadequate understanding of our social environments. Sometimes it seems as though these fragmentary studies upon which we are basing our programs and social laws are worse than no research at all, because their part truths give such a distorted picture of the reality with which we are attempting to cope.

While one hesitates in this day of over-organization to suggest adding another agency to our already crowded list, still experience seems to demonstrate that some central clearing house must be formed for the specific purpose of assembling, coordinating, and dispensing this very necessary background material. For the task is so huge and important that it constitutes a job in itself, and unless it is made the major consideration of some specialized group, it cannot be adequately handled.

But what are these basic social facts which are so widely and so insistently needed, how can they be pooled and kept up to date in our rapidly changing cities, and how can they best be placed at the disposal of those who need them? These are questions which must be answered in any preliminary attempt to develop a community research exchange.

As a point of departure it is not difficult to discover the kind of information which people usually want. Statistics on population, its composition and distribution over small natural areas, statistics on the distribution and extent of

various social problems, directories of key people and institutions, and community case studies depicting the historical background and contemporary conditions are some of the kinds of materials which are usually sought. But with a constantly growing fund of information at their disposal and with their central interest in this field, those responsible for a research exchange could delve more deeply into the question of social environments. Through thoroughgoing, systematic research they could hope to formulate criteria for distinguishing various types of social environments and from these criteria distinguish the most significant indices— the fewest number of facts which in their interrelationships would give the most accurate, workable knowledge of a given area. A further classification of types of problems existing within types of areas would facilitate experiments in control. Such a central bureau could study normal as well as abnormal sections of the city, for while the two are intimately bound together, attention has, up to date, centered on the areas of disorganization and we have but few accurate facts concerning our neighborhoods which lie without the recognized problem belts. But perhaps more than all these things we need in our cities central research bureaus which will transform the old survey method into that new type of sociological research which penetrates into underlying processes and can eventually give us an adequate basis for seeing each specific problem as an integral part of the whole ongoing stream of community life. We have had the experience, for instance, of having the diagnoses of psychiatrists radically changed when adequate community background data have been placed at their disposal.

Uniform districting is one of the chief prerequisites to such a comprehensive plan. It is evident that because of the great variation that does exist in kinds of social en-

vironments contained within a city we need our information assembled by small natural areas. And since we are interested especially in processes and trends, we need some assurance that these areas will be relatively permanent so that facts may be compared over a period of time. At present, social, governmental, and private agencies are compiling information on their "districts," but these districts vary in size and overlap to such an extent that the information cannot be pooled nor correlated. Also, since the areas are determined as a result of administrative policy, they do not coincide with the natural organization of the city, and they are frequently changed as the number of workers is increased or diminished, or as the center of interest of agencies shifts.

We need, also, some means of tapping the wealth of valuable social data which social workers, teachers, ministers, and others acquire about their neighborhoods. Only a small part of this gets into case records but the residue should be recorded, exchanged, verified, and rounded out by more intensive research. A group seeking for basic social facts would have a much better perspective on the meaning and interpretation of this information which now remains impressionistic but which, nevertheless, is one of the most important factors in influencing local programs.

For a number of years now we have been experimenting with this problem of basic social data for Chicago. Some seventy natural areas of the city have been defined and accepted by the social agencies and they have made a small beginning in classifying information on the basis of them. The Bureau of the Census is also compiling 1930 figures in accordance with this districting. We have made preliminary studies in all of the areas and intensive studies in something over half of them. In the intensive studies we have sought to trace the development of the section from

its early settlement down to the present time in an effort to uncover groups, traditions, institutions, and forces which are embedded in its life. For we have found that most of the neighborhoods and communities in the city are but one or two generations old and that the past is not obsolete but exercises a very immediate influence over the present.

Again and again we have found that this continuous, organic study of the neighborhoods as an indivisible part of the whole growing city gives us a grasp over social situations which lends entirely new and truer shades of meaning to the studies of specific problems which are related to it. Business men, social workers, and educators have used the mass of materials as rapidly as we have been able to accumulate it. And sociological students are finding the material even more valuable; to them it provides an indispensable base from which excursions may be made safely in many directions into more intricate problems. My seven years of experimentation with this problem of basic social data have convinced me that it is not only possible to encompass the complexity of our social environments but that it is essential that we do so if we are to make reliable headway in our science. And it has also convinced me that the corner stone of this progress must be a central research bureau where, through cooperative effort and specialized attention, the great mass of facts which we need can be continually assembled and systematized.

ADAPTING THE CHURCH TO THE CITY[1]

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MANY STUDIES have been made in recent years which uniformly reveal that organized religion is having difficulty in attracting the inhabitants of our large cities.[2] In Los Angeles in 1926, a careful estimate found 1,059,375 (or 840,375 over 10 years of age) of the city's 1,350,000 inhabitants, or 74.3 per cent of the total adult population, were not members of any religious group, Protestant, Catholic, or Jewish.[3]

Although no one factor is responsible for this situation, the study upon which this statement is based, (1) indicates that the most important factor of all is the fact that the city's churches have but recently migrated from rural areas from which they have achieved a rural heritage which finds deep-seated expression both in their beliefs and their practices.

Because urban stimuli are different from rural stimuli both in number and type, urban attitudes and values differ also. As a result of a series of years of city life, personality

[1] This article is based upon a study of the Disciples of Christ in Los Angeles, which is the fourth largest Protestant group in the city with 11,000 members in 38 churches. These findings apply in the other groups or cities only in so far as they are similar to this group or city.

[2] *See* H. Paul Douglass: *The St. Louis Survey* (Doran, 1924), p. 215; also his *Springfield Church Survey*, (Doran, 1926), p. 120; W. P. Lemon: "Our Religious Survey" (a news note), *The Christian Century*, October 9, 1929. These show that in St. Louis one-fourth of the population, in Springfield one-third, and in Minneapolis 60 per cent of their best residential section were not being reached by organized religion. Moreover, these studies reveal that a large proportion of urban church members are inactive.

[3] George Burlingame: "How Religious is the City of Los Angeles?" *Los Angeles Sunday Times* (August 28, 1927), Part II, pp. 1 and 10.

itself is altered, and the urban personality calls for a different type of institutional expression. Religious institutions will succeed in the city only after they have adapted themselves to their new urban environment. The truths of religion are not changed in the process, but rather these truths are dressed up in urban clothes so they will be able to attract and serve the urban personality.

A study of the urban personality type in relation to this problem suggests the following changes in the church's approach to the urbanite.[4]

1. *Efficiency* needs to receive more emphasis. This need cannot be neglected, as it has been in the past, in favor of personal sympathy and familiarity. In our machine age it is hard for the urbanite to excuse inefficiency. The urbanite desires to have his institutions function with machine-like precision and punctuality. This efficiency will pervade the whole fabric of the urbanized church's life and activity. It may be illustrated by reference to the church's handling of money. An auditor is an impersonalized, unsympathetic, efficient person whose official task is to hunt for errors in reports of treasurers. Many good churchmen, treasurers especially, find it difficult to appreciate an auditor. Yet the church's business in the city, dealing with urbanites, needs an auditor. Similarly, the old financial device for raising money for church matters by passing a collection basket does not key in with the impersonalized, unsympathetic, anonymous urban mind. The urbanite is trained by his daily experience away from such an ap-

[4] Be it remembered, however, that most church members living in cities are not well adjusted to urban life. One good evidence of this is the fact that if one begins at the suburbs of any large city and moves toward the center, the farther he goes the smaller percentage of church members he will find in the population. Therefore, the suggestions about to be given should be utilized slowly or gradually as the church takes on more and more the color of its environment. Moreover, the churches serving members living near the center of the city will find them useful in serving their more urbanized members before the churches in the suburbs where the urbanization process has not gone so far.

proach. He is used to paying a stipulated fee at the lodge, theater, on the street car, to the newsboy, etc. No other organization asks him to put in just what he wants to; urban organizations do not thrive on such a basis. And a let-down occurs when he is given one chance in a hundred to give what he wants to. The urbanite puts in too many dimes and quarters instead of the larger amounts he would contribute if the church's financial affairs were more impersonal in their demands.[5]

2. *Traditional virtues and tabus* will receive less emphasis in a truly urban church. Instead, sin and virtue will be sought out at first hand.[6] The city church may well dig deep for underlying truth as it applies to urban experience and as it helps the urbanite solve his deeper problems of life organization, for only in this way can it hope to attract the interest and loyalty of city dwellers. When the urban church makes this new alignment against urban sins and urban problems, its emotional motivating force will not be spent vainly by its devotees, and its emotional expressions will cease to be regarded by intelligent people as unnatural and more or less ignorant superstitious practices.

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[5] The pledge system has helped some but does not go far enough. One of the most urbanized churches of the Disciples of Christ in Los Angeles is now considering setting a standard of giving for each member, thus trying to bridge the gap.

[6] A streamer headline across the top of the front page of a Stage and Screen section of the *Los Angeles Evening Herald* (Saturday, May 10, 1930), announces to the world: "TALKIE PUBLIC LIKES HONESTY," SAYS STAR

Narrow Rules of Conduct are Passé, Declares Norma Shearer

"Talkie audiences are commencing to appreciate honest stuff"—that is the opinion advanced by Norma Shearer in discussing . . . her new picture, "The Divorcee." By "honest stuff" Miss Shearer means the complete image of life, as contrasted to the rose-colored substitute from which the movies have only recently dared to vary. . . . ."

For the urbanite, there is a subtle bit of truth in Miss Shearer's "preaching" of "honest stuff." It finds him where he lives and discusses moral problems in terms which may shock the ruralite but which are meaningful to the urbanite, as box office receipts on this picture amply testify.

3. The *tempo* of religious practices needs to be speeded up so it will key in with the swiftly moving urban mind. It is a common experience of the writer to observe critically the reactions of the more urbanized individuals, especially the younger church members, in the services for worship. They very often manifest a rather well-defined restlessness and irritation which is at least partly due to this problem. The rituals proceed too slowly and the preacher's main points in his sermon have been arrived at by his urbanized listeners long before they find utterance. This slower tempo, which is quite in keeping with the movement of the slower rural mind, is boresome and irritating to the adjusted urbanite. The problem of the tempo of religious practices is basic and applies to all parts of the church's program.

4. A *complex type of organization* is needed by the urban church in order to care efficiently for the diverse needs of a heterogeneous membership. H. Paul Douglass has repeatedly pointed out this need in his writings and has discovered a distinct tendency on the part of the city church to develop a more complex organization.

This complex organizational tendency, however, needs to reach beyond the local church and include inter-church and inter-denominational relationships. Just as big business has learned the advantages of cooperative unions, so religion may overcome the disadvantages of its isolation-mindedness in the interests of better efficiency. For just as the combative sect is the native of the isolated countryside, so the cooperative denomination and federated denominational agency is native to the city. It seems reasonable to expect that as the urbanization of the church proceeds, church unity will accompany the process.

5. *A highly trained and diversified leadership* is another need of the urbanized church. This is a corollary to the

need for a complex organization, but it is of equal impor-
tance. That this demand is real and that it is being met
is evident from a comparison of the old rural church
with the present increasingly complex and more highly or-
ganized church in Los Angeles. In the rural days of the
Disciples of Christ both diversity of organization and
trained leaders were emphatically frowned upon. In Los
Angeles today, however, there is an ever increasing tend-
ency toward diversified organizations, and the leadership of
the more urbanized churches includes highly trained min-
isters, directors of religious education, church visitors,
ministers of music, young peoples' directors, etc.

It is difficult to predict just how far this demand for
highly trained and diversified leadership for urban churches
will go. There is some room for doubt that the old folk-
ministry of rural days will be able to survive the rigid effi-
ciency demands of urban life. It is possible that, with the
aid of the radio (and possibly television) and easy trans-
portation facilities, the church, like the movie, may develop
its "star" preachers and have at least this aspect of the
church's service carried to a degree of specialization and
centralization scarcely imaginable today.[7]

6. *Art* is increasingly necessary in appealing to groups
of anonymous-minded urbanites. Very little art has been
used, nor was it needed, in the rural folk-methods of the
church. The plainness of church architecture, furnishings,
and ritual in the earlier days in the United States is too
well known to need comment. In contrast, the movie,
which is a distinctly urbanized social institution, has made
supreme use of this technique, and may well be studied
by the city church as an example in this respect. Drama-

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[7] Dr. Boris V. Morkovin, of the University of Southern California, in an address
on "The Church and the Movies," delivered recently before a group of active min-
isters at the California Christian College, voiced his belief in the probability of such
a development within the church.

tization, music, color schemes, decorations, architecture, and furnishings all may well receive careful consideration from the point of view of developing the artistic possibilities of the church. There is a rich field of possibilities commercially developed—largely by the theater—which lie ready at hand for the church to utilize. Beauty is itself one of religion's greatest allies and may be fully exploited by an urbanized church.

An implication of deep sociological significance is involved in this new trend of religious institutional development in the city. Following the lead of the late Charles H. Cooley, sociologists have generally held that primary groups "are fundamental in forming the social nature and ideals of the individual."[8] Again, Cooley says:

We are dependent for moral health upon intimate association with a group of some sort, usually consisting of family, neighbors, and some friends. It is the interchange of ideas and feelings with this group, and a constant sense of its opinions, that make standards of right and wrong seem real to us.[9]

While these statements are true of a society organized on a primary group basis, it is not at all proven that a society organized on a secondary group basis cannot develop its own technique of control. All social institutions in city life are undergoing rapid and sweeping change—and that change seems to be in the direction of a secondary group system. Is it possible that the church, one of our most conservative social institutions, may adapt itself to urban life on a modified basis that has a distinct leaning toward the development of a secondary group control system?

[8] Charles H. Cooley: Social Organization (Scribner's, 1909), p. 23.

[9] Quoted from Cooley by N. S. Hayner: "Hotel Life and Personality," American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 33, pp. 791-792 (March, 1928).

SOCIAL NEARNESS
AMONG WELFARE INSTITUTIONS

A STUDY IN SOCIAL INTERACTIONS

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IT WAS NOTICED in the preceding sections* that the social welfare organizational milieu presents an interdependence, a formal solidarity, a coerced feeling of unity. However divergent the specific objectives of each organization, theoretically they all have a common purpose: the care of the so-called under-privileged. Whether they execute what they profess or not is a different question and one which does not fall within the confines of this paper. Economically and culturally speaking, these social welfare activity-units constitute an organic structure in the field of relief. Whatever touches one affects the others, directly or indirectly. For instance, the behavior of a Mission in F. city reflected upon the conduct of all the Missions, the Community Chest, the City Social Service Department, the Police Department, the Masonic Lodge, the City Housing and Sanitation Department, the City Women's Club, and the various religious organizations. Consequently, the greater the interdependence among the activity-units the less the social distance tends to become. But as soon as a social welfare organization feels itself independent from the surrounding similar activity-units, social nearness disappears in proportion to the degree of this sense of inde-

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pendence. The X organization illustrates this point clearly. In spite of the fact that it had to deal with boys just as did the Boy Scouts, the Rangers, the Woodcrafters, the Y.M.C.A., etc., ecological, demogenic, and cultural factors caused it to segregate itself from the rest to the extent of complete defiance. But when it encountered official difficulties, it immediately applied for reinstatement. The organization depended upon the public school and the public library buildings where their council meetings could be held without financial drain on the organization. The assistant superintendent of schools recommended the denial of privileges to X which were extended to other similar organizations.[1] Thus, while independence alienates, the sense of dependence tends to foster at least formal nearness.

Frequently the condition of the weak creates a response in its behalf from those who are strong. The street beggar and the indigents of charitable institutions thrive on this. While some generalized humanitarian sentiments apparently exist, the championship of a specific cause in behalf of the weak reduces social distance. For instance, those hospitals which devote themselves to the care of the crippled assume the championship of this fragment of the population. Those who wave the banner of the blind, the tubercular, the aged and homeless men, the stranded women and children, etc., overcome some of the existing distance between the needy and the potential donors. Especially if these champions succeed in convincing the surrounding activity-units that they are "doing a good work," that they are producing "desirable results," the distance becomes minimized and nearness, formal or otherwise, ensues. Thus, the championship of the cause of the weak creates social nearness among the potential donors and the needy

[1] *Minutes of the Meeting of the Board of Education*, February 7, 1927, Document 514.

and the fact or the myth of doing good work among the social welfare activity-units in general.

Culture-traits and culture-ways tend to separate, but general culture-consciousness overcomes social distance among the activity-units. The J.A. is an organization for the care of tuberculars; so are the H.C. and the J.E. Each of these is supported by the representatives of special groups with culture-traits and culture-ways. They detest each other and fight each other whenever the occasion arises. As a member of one of these organizations, referring to another, says: "when you mention them I see red."[2] But all of them are Jewish, and as soon as the cause of Jewry is presented the particular organizational distances disappear. They unite to fight Catholic or Protestant aggressions. Culture-consciousness tends to eliminate their organizational distance The same is true for the Catholic and the Protestant groups. The S. Society would have nothing to do with the Catholic Welfare Bureau, but as soon as the cause of Catholicism was brought to their attention, they immediately rallied to the general cause. Each Protestant denomination works for the realization of its own ends, but the general culture-consciousness from the point of view of Protestantism fostered the P.W. Association which bridged many gaps and introduced organizational and denominational nearness. Hence, the more dominant the culture-consciousness the greater the tendency for social nearness.

It has been observed in the preceding section that low professional standards or a lack of professional standards causes social distance and antagonism. High professional standards produce intimacy and nearness among those organizations which insist upon professional integrity. Two

2 R., Document 619.

competing and conflicting organizations in the field of orthopaedics manifested intense distance, but the professional excellence of C could not be ignored by B Hospital. Referring to the C Clinic, B states: "We give complete credit for the work they are doing. . . . They have acquired an unquestionable medical excellence which the organizers, the administrators, the supporters, as well as the public have the right to feel proud of."[3]   And again, "The C is filling a real need in the life of the community."[4]   Social nearness is fostered even among competing social welfare organizations if they uphold similar professional standards.

Social distance and antagonism are also reduced by mutual aid or reciprocity of services. The branch of a nationally known tuberculosis organization has cultivated social nearness with a division of the City Health Department. The former encourages new enterprises such as the establishment of food clinics, open air camps, and finances them until the latter is willing to assume the responsibility for their perpetuation. In recognition of this service, the latter extends many privileges to the former, politically and otherwise. The game, "you scratch my back and I scratch yours," is played effectively and results in social nearness and cooperation.

This same factor of reciprocity is seen in the following. The representative of an officially recognized social welfare organization defended the claims of a tubercular association against the aggressions of the Community Chest. This fostered social nearness which became closer when the representative of the tubercular association defended the integrity of the officially recognized organization in a

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[3] S., Document 108.
[4] Ibid.
[5] Confidential Report, Document 611.

crisis precipitated by the Community Chest.[5] The greater the extent of reciprocity in service between two social welfare organizations the closer is their social nearness.

Similarity in experiences, fellowship in suffering, and participation in crises tend to bridge the gaps between social welfare organizations. The J.A. and the J.E. associations encountered similar difficulties in raising money among the Jewry of the country. Their subjection to similar predicaments created fellow-feeling, better understanding, and intimacy which brought forth the amalgamation of the two organizations. Again, similarity in objectives between the C.C. Guild and L.A.F., in behalf of the crippled, fused them together in spite of a dominant sex antagonism. The fight of two ministers brought the two together in an accord whereby they work cooperatively against the third one. Both had suffered "injustices and ill-treatments" in the hands of the leader of their present antagonist. As similarity in experiences coincides, social distance tends to diminish.

Wise leadership is another factor in reducing social distance. The rashness, the insolence, the defiant and independent spirit of the X organization, alienated the Optimists Club, the Rotarians, the Lions Club, the Boy Scouts of America, the Western Rangers, etc., who were once its staunch supporters. The wisdom of the superintendent of an orphanage in M. city brought internal cohesion among the Board members, paved the way for a real understanding with the Federation of Jewish agencies, secured the confidence of the Community Chest, and held the respect of the antagonistic organization engaged in similar work. While he is Jewish and is the head of a Jewish organization, the representative of a Christian organization writes:[6]

6 Letter, Document 619.

"It will make you smile to be leading a class that we designate as one in 'Christian Service,' but there is, as you very well know, no incongruity—I wish we had more persons in our Church that were as Christlike as you. There comes to my mind a saying of Rabbi Simon—a close friend of mine in Washington, D.C. . .—'come down to our Synagogue some time and give us a chance to make Christians of you.' I know that those who may have the privilege of sitting at your feet will have a better attitude toward the most precious and most helpless class of our social life."

Therefore, it may be said that other things being equal, social nearness with other organizations is in proportion to the tact, wisdom, and adequacy in judgment of the leader of an organization.

The capitalization of the myth of being "unjustly treated" marshalls the forces of social nearness and cooperation among the believers in the myth. The X organization, because of the alleged moral charges against the character of its leader, published the facts widely and asked an official investigation. The results of the investigation brought many closer to the organization. Expressions like these illustrate the point clearly. "I do not believe in the charges made; my son will continue to attend his school."[7] A lady, whose son is a member of X, thinks that "it would be a gross injustice for any one to break up Mr. Y.'s work and his organization." The representative of a prominent group of writers says: "I stay with a friend. . ."[8] "The charges are nothing but spite work," adds another.[9] "We don't give a whoop for Chest support; parents are able to support this organization." "He will conduct this organization in spite of anything that can be done and in spite of any adverse reports that have been made regarding his past

[7] A mother, Document 581.

[8] Mc., Document 583.

[9] Confidential Report, Document 7c.

conduct with boys."[10] "All these charges are lies: behind
it all is the attempt to get hold of their Club House."[11]
"They are hard on him because he does not care for the
Y.M.C.A." These reveal sympathy with the leader and
the organization born out of the conviction that he has been
mistreated. Thus, the greater the credulity as to the ill-
treatment of an organization by other organizations, the
intenser is the intimacy and devotion among the credulous.

The element of time also is conducive to the reduction of
social distance between two or more social welfare organi-
zations. The S. Society dreaded the Catholic Welfare Bu-
reau, but as time slipped by, understanding ensued. The
C.C.G. opposed the K.A.F. but in the course of time these
two were fused together. The B. Hospital aroused the
biggest howl when K.A.F. merged, but now they under-
stand and respect each other. Ten years ago J.E. came
into existence against the J.A. organization, but today they
have amalgamated. A tubercular association worked
against the County Department and vice versa, but now
they cooperate. Time heals many wounds, and coopera-
tive enterprise continues in spite of scars. It may be said
that, as time advances, the previous hostilities due to mis-
understanding and competition tend to bridge certain gaps
among the organizations and reduce the range of their so-
cial distance.

Proper insight into the nature of things is one of the
foremost factors in reducing social distance and antagon-
ism among these organizations. Just as with individual
persons, the ability to see the attitudes and to weigh the
values involved in a situation on the part of an organiza-
tion seems to assume significance. Whereas an organiza-

10 Letter, February 9, 1927, Document 504.

11 Representative of an organization, Document 509.

tion is anxious to preserve its individuality and its exist-
ence against the machinations of other organizations,
proper accommodations come only after due insight into
the nature of the total situation.   If the C.C. Guild repre-
sentatives had failed to reconcile themselves with the prop-
ositions of the shrewd business men—who organized K.A.
F.—they would have become absorbed long ago, and per-
haps exterminated.   But now they live as an inseparable
part of the K.A.F.   If the J.E. organization's leaders had
not shown insight into the nature of their precarious fi-
nancial conditions, unquestionably the doom of their
"Home" would be enhanced.   New, they maintain their
identity through amalgamation with the J.A.   Analysis of
and insight into the whole situation tends to create under-
standing, intimacy, and fellow-feeling among social wel-
fare organizations.

DEGREES OF SOCIAL INTERACTION

The social distance between two organizations, or an
organization and its organizational milieu, can be meas-
ured.   While no scientifically valid criteria are attempted
here, the following degrees or interaction are observed.   So-
cial welfare organizations are either hostile, indifferent,
or cooperatively disposed towards each other.

Indifference is the neutral attitude out of which either
antagonisms or friendly relationships may emerge.   It rep-
resents potentiality without guidance in either direction.
The social distance between the N. Mission and the K.A.F.
Clinical Foundation is neither that of friendliness nor that
of hostility.   These two agencies are vertically but not hor-
izontally related.   Their contacts are nil, or if they exist
are rather indirect.   But in case of an emergency or crisis,
each of the organizations has the ability to react either

favorably or unfavorably towards the other. Circumstances and social situations will determine the nature of their distance or nearness. As they stand now, they are *unaware* of social proximity or social distance.

Antagonism and hostility, however, indicate definite reactions wherein we can detect attitudinal degrees of distance. These arrange themselves as follows: competition, estrangement, conflict, outlawry, and isolation. When two or more organizations are working within the same field of social welfare enterprize, they tend to compete either for excellence in service or for supremacy. As long as each of them confines itself to a specific area, social distance is not very great. For instance, Hospital B. and Clinic C. have a definite understanding that the former will accept patients up to the age of twelve and the latter up to twenty. Both compete in the same field but B. cannot increase its social distance so far as the 13-20 age group is concerned. Furthermore, these two organizations feel socially equal as long as they are both interested in the alleviation of suffering among a specific group of people. Having this goal in view, they compete with each other more or less on an impersonal basis. They are aware of each other's function and activities, and to that extent they feel distant from each other.

Estrangement enters in when one of the parties steps out of the prescribed boundary line. If Clinic C. should take away a few of the patients from Hospital B. by any manner or means, the existing understanding, friendliness, and reciprocal give-and-take process would cease to exist and they would become estranged. This is well illustrated in the relationship of two missions. When the C.F. Mission was organized against the activities of N. Mission, the U.R. Mission was most friendly with the C.F. Mission. They worked together against N. But when C.F. stepped

on U.R.'s toes by soliciting food from the same circle of donors, the relationship became strained. It was not open hostility, but suspicious watching became the rule.

Competition for resources, clientele, and domination resolves itself into open conflict in which fellow-feeling disappears and distance becomes palpable. Each organization is aware of the activities of the other and consciously tends to exterminate the competitor. The N. Mission has reached this point with regard to the activities of the C.F. Mission. It is difficult to reconcile the two. Any step that one takes is misunderstood and misinterpreted by the other; there is no willingness to understand each other. A similar situation existed between the J.A. and the J.E. organizations for ten years, but predicaments and crises caused this decade of hostility to be succeeded by the establishment of mutual we-feeling.

Intensified conflicts for domination, if long-continued, outlaw one of the rivals. Other organizations come to the rescue of one. Again this degree of social distance appears in the case of the missions. When N. attempted to "freeze out" C.F., the U.R., the Salvation Army, the V.A., the C.I., the C.W supported C.F's cause. Their unanimous front outlawed the N. Mission in the sight of the mission activity-units, the Community Chest, the Social Service Department, and some business organizations as well as certain churches.

Although outlawry indicates an extreme degree of social distance, isolation shows the absence of understanding and fellow-feeling. After the X organization was outlawed because of the character of its leader, it became isolated as an independent social welfare activity-unit which appears in such statements: "We have no connection with any organization of any nature."[12] And again, "We have

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[12] Document 2E.

on hand no requests to be of service to any organization."[13] This is the most extreme manifestataion of social distance.

On the other side of the neutral fence of indifference is the spirit of friendliness, fellow-feeling, mutual aid, reciprocity, intimacy, and an attempt toward real understanding. These may be expressed in terms of accommodations and cooperation. Every step toward accommodation is a sign of social distance which has been overcome. The range of these is varied, indeed, but the general principle manifests its reality. From the shaking of hands of the two representatives of hostile organizations in a formal gathering to their yieldings because of the environmental pressures the process will involve a multitude of accommodations, all of which tend to increase understanding and to cultivate at least formal intimacy.

Cooperation, on the other hand, evidences diminution of social distance. K.A.F.'s support of the Community Chest in time of crisis, "because it is a civic duty," is one of the best expressions of fellow-feeling, and insight. All forms of cooperative enterprises among the social welfare organizations indicate formal social nearness.

CONCLUSION

In view of the foregoing data and analysis it will be conceded that social welfare organizations develop social distance and antagonistic attitudes just as do individual persons. Group-wishes and group-interests, like personal wishes and interests, create competition, estrangement, conflict, outlawry, and isolation situations. Meanwhile, social approbation and the struggle for the existence of the organization foster accommodation and cooperation situations. These are declaratory of the existence of distance

[13] *Ibid.*

in terms of presence or absence of understanding and fellow-feeling among the social welfare activity-units.

In summarizing, we offer the following inductions based upon the data presented above:

1. Social nearness among social welfare organizations is invariably formal and not natural. Masks are worn whenever nearness appears.

2. Social distance and antagonism are greater among those organizations which work within the same field.

3. Social distance and antagonism are, comparatively speaking, greater between a marginal organization and a new activity-unit than between the new and an established organization. The established agency has less fear than the marginal one.

4. Indirect experiences are as powerful in accentuating or in reducing social hostility as are direct experiences. In other words, in addition to direct origins of social distance there may be reflected causes.

5. Social distance is like a two-edged sword: while it fosters understanding, intimacy, and fellow-feeling with one group or agency, at the same time it increases misunderstanding, alienation, and antagonism with another group or agency. Hence, there is no organizational act which is conducive to one hundred per cent social distance or social nearness.

6. Social distance or antagonism and social nearness or cooperation are relative.

BALANCE IN LEADERSHIP*

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BALANCE is a term used in describing the physical world with its balances of electrons and protons, the biological world with its balances of genes or of chromosomes, the personality world with its autonomic and endocrine balances.[1] Leadership, especially social leadership, also has its system of balances.

Leadership is a process whereby one person influences large numbers of persons in important social situations. Leadership is but half of a process of which the other half is followership.[2] Leadership has its origins in an interplay of biological heredity, social heritage, personal experiences, and social opportunities and stimuli. A leader may be primarily an intellectualist such as John Dewey; an executive, such as Andrew Mellon, or a welfare leader, such as Ramsay MacDonald. Social leadership, the special background of this discussion, involves contacts with people, public appearances, a practical knowledge of human attitudes and yearnings.

Leadership, particularly social leadership, is often an expression of a combination or balance of personality traits. Sometimes one personality trait stands out, but generally

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* Presidential address. This paper is based on careful analyses of approximately 75 biographies and autobiographies of well known leaders. Space does not permit citations from the source materials.

[1] My colleague, Dr. E. F. Young, in an unpublished manuscript has given special attention to balance and unbalance in personality.

[2] Georg Simmel, *Soziologie*, Duncker and Humblot, 1923, Chapter III, "Uber und Unterordnung."

another is also operative, holding the first in check and keeping it from going to the extreme. The simplest balance in leadership, to which this paper will be confined, is that of two personality traits operating in a system or configuration or gestalt.[3]

Aggressiveness and *inhibition*, for example, may be viewed as personality traits which if expressed *separately* defeat leadership, but if operating *in a balanced system* give a proper setting for leadership. The person who is ever aggressive becomes tiresome; he becomes unpopular. He does not last long unless there is no one else available to meet special situations. He is soon accused of desire for personal power. Overaggressiveness led Napoleon to St. Helena; the German Junkers to Versailles.

Overaggressiveness or obtrusiveness brings sharp adverse reactions. The able but obtrusive person is tolerated but not joyfully accepted as a leader. The person with an exaggerated ego may be recognized because he does things that need to be done or because he does needed things better than anyone else. His aggressiveness defeats his other claims to distinction.

Inhibition, on the other hand, taken *by itself*, hinders achievement, fears to undertake difficult tasks, and smothers ability in disability. Inhibition leads to inferiority complexes. Inhibition never risks. Inhibition holds back when situations are calling loudly for some one to step out ahead.

The able but backward person is likely never to achieve because he does not try. He who will not accept responsibility, who not only keeps out of sight but out of work, who is afraid to make mistakes, who is always apologizing,

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3 Wolfgang Kohler, *Gestalt Psychology*, Liveright, 1929, Chapter VI, "The Properties of Organized Wholes."

who cringes at the slightest criticism, never attains a leadership level. How often we hear it said of a person: "It is too bad that he does not come out of his shell."

When found together *in a perfected balance,* aggressiveness and inhibition, however, overcome each other's weaknesses. Inhibited aggressiveness pushes ahead on occasions of special need, but does not rush headlong against stone walls or over precipices. It is buoyantly strong but not superficially glad like Pollyana. It puts a mighty shoulder to the wheel of great tasks, but is not forever boosting anything and everything. It hopes all things but also endures all things.

In a perfected balance, aggressiveness gives courage, while inhibition prevents recklessness. Aggressiveness speaks up frankly, but inhibition prevents it from being brutally frank. Aggressiveness criticizes, but inhibition keeps the criticism from turning into meanness. Aggressiveness hopes for the best, while inhibition is busy preparing for the worst. Aggressiveness drives a person over obstacles, but inhibition holds him from stumbling headlong. Aggressiveness uses up energy but inhibition saves energy for another day. Aggressiveness pushes a person out in front, but inhibition keeps him from getting so far ahead that he is disowned by his group. Aggressiveness seeks the new, while inhibition holds on to the best of the past until the new has demonstrated its superiority. Aggressiveness expends, while inhibition conserves. Aggressiveness takes risks, while inhibition is thrifty. Aggressiveness shoots its little bark over rolling waves; inhibition "sits pretty," keeping the boat from rocking too much. Under restraint aggressiveness grows restless to smash ahead by revolutionary means, but inhibition insists that time be given a chance to move by evolutionary change. Either aggressiveness or inhibition expressed separately may defeat leader-

ship, but when integrated properly are leadership in operation.

If the excess aggression of the overly aggressive person could be cut off and given to the habitually backward person, both might become leaders. Behead one person's obtrusiveness and transform it into pep for the bashful person, and two leaders might be made to grow where now there is none.

A second set of personality traits which need to be integrated in order to give that balance of personality which spells leadership is *spontaneity* and *standardization*. Spontaneity is catching; it attracts attention; it surprises and pleases; it is magnetic and captivating, but it is all too often unreliable. He who leads by fits and jerks, who is "up" in spirit today and "down" tomorrow, who cannot do much unless he "feels like it," or unless "the spirit moves him," soon exhausts his leadership opportunities.

On the other hand, the trait of standardization possesses great reliability, and the standardized person can be counted on, for he moves by precision and generally knows whereof he speaks, for he handles routine rapidly, for he carries the load when there is no gallery and no applause. However, he is not magnetic, becomes the center of no multitude, does not enjoy the company of the brilliant. Systematic, orderly, he is tiring to many persons who wish that he would kick over the traces once in a while. His personality gets locked up within his own standardization devices, and his leadership shrinks.

Let a person keep his spontaneity but turn it into varied channels of system, and leadership opportunities will knock at his door.[4] Let the spontaneous person become system-

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[4] Cf. E. B. Gowin, *The Executive and his Control of Men*, Macmillan, 1915, Ch. VIII, "Systematic Personal Effort."

atic enough to be dependable; and let the standardized person loosen up sufficiently to become stimulating: then both will grow into the stature of leadership. Spontaneity integrated with system gives a balance in personality that presages leadership.

A third balanced integration of personality traits that may be coined into leadership is *vision* and *concentration*. Vision alone pulls a person out toward the far horizon in all directions. Concentration by itself pins him down to a dead center. Vision alone becomes visionary; concentration alone becomes aloofness, but *taken together*, vision makes a person circumspect, while concentration affords thoroughness and attention to detail. Vision prevents concentration from losing itself in a rut or a well, while concentration gives point to vision.[5]

When coupled together properly, vision furnishes concentration an adequate setting. Vision gives meaning to concentration. Vision enables a person to concentrate wisely, with reference to time, place, and the subject. Vision extricates concentration from blind alleys. Concentration, on the other hand, prevents vision from becoming wholly superficial. Concentration adds achievement to vision. Pulling together vision and concentration create leadership.

A fourth couplet of personality traits, closely related to the vision-concentration balance, is *versatility* and *specialization*. Versatility, the ability to do many things, is often its own downfall. If you can do many things you may become superficial in some. If you are versatile you may easily become overburdened. Multiplicity of stimuli in a large city tranforms any capable person into a multiple-

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[5] Lester F. Ward, the first to stress focalization of psychic energy as an achievement trait, did not emphasize the configuration in which it works when it results in achievement.

burdened Atlas staggering along with many worlds of responsibilities on his courageous back.

Specialization, on the other hand, may mean going to seed. It may shrink into narrowness and intolerance. It may begin with a groove and end in a grave. The different groups of social science specialists in the past, for instance, have often poked fun at each other and cracked sharp jokes at each other's expense; each group meanwhile has blindly believed its own specialty to be superior to any of the others.

Together, versatility and specialization keep a person at enough tasks to bring out his main abilities but do not allow him to become a crank on any one thing. Together, versatility and specialization keep a person at work on just enough problems to enable him to move from one to another with a winning freshness of attack. A dozen or more problems at a time dissipates human energy, while only one in season and out upsets mental equilibrium, but a balance between marks the road to leadership.

A fifth citation of balance in personality traits affecting leadership is *optimism* and *pessimism*. The always optimistic person is cheery to have around but does not inspire followership in crisis. A hundred per cent optimism does not grapple sufficiently with harsh realities to make its leadership efficient in strenuous hours. Optimism has a blind eye. It is especially subject to the fallacy of wishful thinking; whatever it wants badly it is sure is going to happen.

But what about the always pessimistic person? He arouses no enthusiasm for anything, not even for his pessimism. He inspires no one to go anywhere, or to undertake anything helpful. He is like the old story of the Irishman who died, but who did not believe in Heaven or Hell, and who reported back that he was all dressed up and had no-

where to go.   Constant pessimism shuffles along heavy-footedly through the mire of discouragement into despair. Pessimism is guilty of *doubting*, instead of *doubling* itself to the task; it pulls back instead of pushing ahead.

Balance in leadership requires an integration of optimism and pessimism.   To become a leader, a person needs to have a throbbing artery of optimism balanced by a vein of pessimism.   Optimism without a ballast of pessimism is at the mercy of the winds.   Pessimism enables optimism to keep its feet on the earth while pointing skyward.   Acting together, pessimism requires of a leader a careful chart, prepares him for a stormy day, equips him for emergencies, while optimism carries him over troublesome obstacles, keeps him going when others are wavering, cheers him and his followers on when the load is a burden and the sky is murky overhead.

Balance in leadership means that a person may be optimistic about his pessimism, thankful that he has some; and pessimistic about his optimism, that is, suspicious of it. Without either he would be unfit as a leader.   With both working together in a perfected configuration, he is already on the highway of leadership.

It may now be noted that balance in leadership does not mean a deadlock of personality traits; neither does it signify a deadly warring of opposing elements; neither does it imply first one trait in charge and then its opposite in operation.   Balance in leadership means a system or a configuration not of opposing personality traits but of opposites working harmoniously together as the night works with the day.[6]   It does not imply situations such as the one represented by a boy who was upstairs having a temper

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[6] In abnormal psychology are found many analyses of cases where complementary traits have become so separated that multiple or disintegrated personalities have resulted.

tantrum. His brother offered the following explanation: "Billie is upstairs. He wants badly to come down—but he won't let himself." Balance in leadership is no dual personality dilemma. It is no Dr. Jekyl and Mr. Hyde affair; it is more like Andy and Amos, a traveling equilibrium, each stimulating and checking the other.

Balance in leadership is a superior integration or configuration, whereby, for instance, aggressiveness and inhibition work together, driving a person ahead to meet strenuous emergencies with magnificent control; whereby a captivating spontaneity makes attractive a dependable, efficient standardization; whereby vision enables a person to concentrate wisely; whereby versatility keeps concentration from losing its head in the sand; whereby optimism and pessimism stimulate a person to look all the time and everywhere for the very best and at the same time keeps him prepared for the worst. St. Paul illustrated the idea even when in bondage. You may recall his words: "I know both how to be abased, and I know how to abound; everywhere and in all things I am instructed both to be full and to be hungry, both to abound and to suffer need."

SOCIAL CHANGE IN RUSSIA

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AN INTERPRETATION of the changes that are being effected in the social structure of Russia under the Soviet Government is difficult because of the varied points of view and preconceptions which observers bring to their task. This is why one finds so much apparent contradiction and disagreement in the reports which visitors bring back from the fascinating land of the former Czars. What such visitors will say concerning the new Russia will probably reflect their own conception of the *terminus ad quem* of civilization. To those who believe that modern capitalism represents the final stage in the evolution of economic society, Soviet Russia will appear as a hideous social aberration presenting a complete departure from accepted mores and established codes of human behavior. To the other extremists—those who believe with Karl Marx that the ultimate in social evolution is a collectivist society—communized Russia will appear as a paradise of the proletariat.

To the disinterested student of social phenomena, whose studies have taught him to believe that the most changeless thing in human experience and in the natural universe about him is change, Russia will appear merely as the stage of the greatest social experiment of history. Regardless of what one may think concerning collectivization of human institutions, what is going on in Russia represents a most astounding drama of change. For most individuals prejudice probably precludes a proper perspective of the rapidly changing scenes in this social drama, and it

is doubtful if many persons can perceive the full significance of this revolutionary reconstruction of the social
order in a great nation. Indeed, it is doubtful if more than
a relatively few people in Russia itself are cognizant of the
potential outcome of the Revolution.

"Ideas," said August Comte, "rule the world or throw it
into chaos." Nowhere has this famous dictum taken on
the quality of truth more than in Russia. When one visits
that country and discovers how thorough a social revolution may be, one easily understands why defenders of the
status quo in every country fear the reconstructive power
of ideas. It is a strange inconsistency that this weapon of
ideas which has been used by communists in Russia, fascists in Italy, and capitalists in the United States to bring
about the social, political, and economic changes they desired, is suppressed ruthlessly when it appears with new
revolutionary purposes. Social change is thus retarded,
but it never is permanently avoided. Even Russian communists will find that their naïve conception of collectivism as the final stage in social evolution will be forced to
yield as their institutions change in continuous and imperative accommodation to the dictation of circumstance and
experience. Change is one of the inescapable universal social realities. Recognition of that fact should conduce to
patience with new things, tolerance of new points of veiew,
and balance of judgment—even when approaching a study
of present-day Russia.

THE SCRAPPING OF TRADITION

The visitor to Russia is immediately impressed with the
fact that it is a land which has done with the past. Tradition has been relegated to the scrap heap of social antiquities. Old institutions and old modes of behavior evoke de-

rision, contempt, scorn; new institutions and new modes of behavior touch mainsprings of enthusiasm and spur the imagination to conceive newer things. It would almost seem that the communists desire change and newness just for the sake of the novelty of a different experience. The past that antedates the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 bears no sanctity; Russia is bent on living for the future. "Yesterday—that belongs to the dead; tomorrow—that belongs to the living," quietly philosophized my youthful guide in Moscow. That is the attitude of all communist Russia.

It is a serious question, of course, whether any people can successfully break so abruptly with the past. One is inclined to wonder whether there may not be a thread of continuity running unbroken through the tapestry of time and human experience. Elements of old civilizations have invariably appeared in the new. The heritage of the past can scarcely be abandoned without inviting tragic chaos. Thought, at least has a measure of immortality.

THE CHANGED SOCIAL PATTERN

One need not talk in terms of philosophical generalities and abstractions when one talks about the new Russia. There revolutionary thought has been given the quality of reality and ideological conceptions of modified human relations are finding expression in reconstructed social institutions. The social pattern of Soviet Russia is, of course, a real departure from the social pattern of Western democracies; this is in accord with the major purpose of the Revolution. Political, legal, and social institutions, economic organization, codes of moral behavior—the whole congeries of human relations that constitute the social pattern of an organized society are peculiarly different. They are different—radically different—largely because the founda-

tion of social philosophy upon which they rest is so revolutionary.

The civilization that is rising in Russia is built upon the conception that the whole is greater than any of its parts because it is the sum of all its parts. The welfare of society in general, not of individuals in particular, is thus the agreed objective of human and institutional behavior. This, insisted an ardent communist intellectual in Leningrad, represents a higher type of civilization than that embraced by Western democracies, which are founded upon capitalism with its motive of self-interest and its doctrine of *laissez-faire, laissez passer*. Capitalistic society, he contended, is simply a social organization in which there is a perennial condition of *bellum omnium contra omnes* approaching a real measure of anarchism. The essential idea of sovietism is identical with the central concept of syndicalism, namely, "each for all, and all for each." This in turn yields the general principle of conduct in Russia, which is: "From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs." Social solidarity based upon Prince Kropotkin's philosophy of mutual aid is thus substituted for the individualistic philosophy, which was first enunciated in our modern world by Adam Smith and the classical economists as the indispensable foundation of social progress.

THE STATUS OF RELIGION AND THE CHURCH

In no sphere of Russian institutional life does one find more significant consequences of the Revolution than in the field of religion. Among the communists, atheism is universally accepted as the only rational attitude. Young communists are especially vehement in their denunciation of the concept of deity. Here, of course, they are merely adopting the philosophy of Marx and Lenin. To Marx,

religion was superstitious ideology fashioned by prevailing economic forces and designed to safeguard the social *status quo* in the interest of the ruling classes. To Lenin, religion was "the opiate of the people." He had this inscription placed on the side of the building overlooking the famous shrine of the Iberian Virgin in the Red Square, where devout Christians who came to find healing and peace of mind might see it.

To the Western visitor this seems like a strange iconoclasm for a land so long identified with some of the most beautiful ritual in the whole world of religious institutionalism. It seems stranger still when one remembers the native mysticism of the Slav and the naïve simplicity that characterizes the *moujik's* conception of the supernatural. In the mountain recesses of the Crimea, on the gently rolling steppes of the Volga country, and in the lightless, sleepy villages everywhere the proletarian Slav conceives of God as a great reality.

Standing on Lenin Hill on the farther side of the winding Moscow river, one looks down on incomparably beautiful Moscow, known as the city of 40 times 40 because sixteen hundred golden domes, spires, and minarets rise from as many shrines and churches. Glittering beneath the rays of a summer sun, these silent messengers of supernaturalism reveal a past of piety and devotion on the part of millions. But these places of worship are now visited only by the incorrigibly pious, mostly old folk. The materialistic doctrines of communism have done much to destroy the sanctions and taboos of religion, and the Government has padlocked a large number of the churches. Young communists laugh at the church and at religion; communist officials fear both as potential centers of interest that might divert the thought of the people from the "serious business of the Revolution.'

All this accounts for the numerous anti-religious museums and universities for the the propagation of atheism which one finds in the cities of the new Russia. The attack upon religion is not difficult to explain when one remembers the traditional criticism of all forms of supernaturalism that has appeared in socialist literature, and when one recalls that in the old Russia the church and religion were allied with the despotism of the Czars in keeping the people in ignorance and docile obedience. Religion can never be thus prostituted with impunity. After all, religion and despotism make strange bedfellows.

THE NEW ECONOMIC SYSTEM

The economist will find Russia an intriguing country because he will discover an economic society being constructed upon a philosophical foundation vastly different from the egoistic basis which supports the superstructure of modern capitalism. Before he enters Russia he will be . told that the Soviet Union is drifting rapidly to the right, headed straight for a renaissance of capitalism. So often was I told this that I journeyed into Russia expecting to discover the remnant of a broken utopia. I remembered how thickly scattered along the pathway of social history were the utopias conceived by dreamers from Plato to Owen, and I looked forward to seeing the aftermath of another defeated social experiment. But in fact, Russia was never closer to the extreme left, not even under the War Communism of the fiery, impetuous Trotsky.

Private enterprise in Russia is almost at a vanishing point. Industries are developed and managed by the State through the instrumentality of trusts or the people's commissars, by cooperative societies, and by individuals. Official Moscow claims that the large and small industries op-

erating under the sanction of the State and directly accountable to it are responsible for 90 per cent of the current output. In the field of distribution, the cooperatives control approximately 55 per cent of the wholesale trade, 65 per cent of the retail trade, and 10 per cent of the foreign trade. The collectivization of agriculture was proceeding with difficulty during the time of my sojourn in Russia in the summer of 1929, but the evidences indicate a rapid spread of this movement in 1930. The war against the *kulak*, or so-called "rich peasant," has been attended with considerable success. In a real sense the *kulak* represents the most potent threat to communism. He is industrious, thrifty, shrewd, and ambitious—the embodiment of all those qualities that contribute to the emergence and success of capitalistic industry. Lenin was aware of this, so was Trotsky; and Stalin now shares the same fear of the *kulak* that haunted the minds of the two great leaders of the Revolution. The ruthless extermination of the *kulak* will probably preclude the growth of private operation of Russia's farms and expedite the process of collectivization. In city industry and business the small entrepreneur also meets with serious opposition, not only from competition with the powerful state trusts and cooperatives but also from the general opprobrium that attaches to the position of a *Nepman*.

Soviet Russia is functioning under the influence of a planned economy. The communists insist that capitalistic economy is disorderly and chaotic, presenting no semblance of coordination between production and consumption, no synchronization of demand and supply. The basic cause of this maladjustment is said to lie in our *laisse-faire* philosophy, which precludes undue interference with the freedom of the individual entrepreneur and prevents social control of economic institutions. The whole scheme of

production and distribution is thus divorced from social purposes and needs, say the communists, since the profit motive may dictate the production of luxuries for a few rather than necessities for the many. Unplanned economy is seen as an anarchistic economy, alternating between periods of overproduction and underproduction and suffering from uncontrolled credit expansion. The net result is periodical crises, panics, unemployment, increasing misery and the general breakdown of the whole system.

In Russia the theory that economic forces can be controlled and directed intelligently for social purposes is being translated into terms of reality. There every effort is being made to plan and execute production in accordance with national requirements. This concept of scientific planning of production is not in itself revolutionary, but its application to an entire nation most assuredly is. Scientific management under Taylorism long since has introduced intelligent control of production in many American industries, which may explain why Taylor is a sort of patron saint of Soviet Russia. Centralization of control in the hands of the State is, of course, subversive of that freedom of economic effort which is so dearly cherished by the exponents of capitalism. Nothing could be more revolutionary than to destroy private industry in this way.

MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE UNDER THE SOVIETS

The revolutionary broom has swept quite clean when it comes to the marriage contract and relations between the sexes. Equality of the sexes is one of the principal doctrines of communism, which explains why one sees so many women in the Russian industries and operating the street railway systems. Incidentally, let me say that the women of Russia manifest an extraordinary interest in their new vocations and appear to be unusually efficient.

The marriage contract as it is understood in the United States and other countries where the Christian religion is dominant is a thing of the past in Russia. Under the soviets marriage is merely a matter of registration, and divorce is accomplished in the same perfunctory manner. This does not mean that the Government attaches no moral or financial responsibility to the marital state. In fact, serious abuses of the marital relationship, such as excessively frequent registration for marriage or divorce are punished. Moreover, there is heavy financial responsibility where there are children.

WHAT NEXT FOR RUSSIA?

It is always dangerous to prophesy, but it is an intriguing venture in which most of us like to engage, despite our scientific confession of faith. So I am going to indulge just a little in closing.

There are many who look for an early demise of communism in Russia; there are many others who think that the soviet regime has an indefinite lease of life. It is difficult to say which of these two points of view is correct. Only time can tell. Personally, I shall be surprised if the Soviet Government is overthrown in the near future. Counter-revolution seems almost incredible in view of the fact that the Union is taking such precautions against it and controls all military, naval, and police forces. Fundamentally, it is a question whether the Five-Year Plan or starvation will win in the next few years. If the Five-Year Plan succeeds and Russia is able to not only provide food supplies but also an increasing volume of manufactured goods for her people, it will take considerable power to overthrow the communist regime. On the other hand, starvation may accomplish that very thing expeditiously.

Suppose the Five-Year Plan succeeds and the communists remain in power, what then? Much could be prophesied at this juncture. From an economic point of view, Russia is potentially the most powerful competitor that Western capitalistic nations face. On the other hand, with her population of 150,000,000, she constitutes one of the most inviting commodity markets in the world today. The relation of the United States to this potentially great market is, of course, problematical. The economic recovery of Europe will be aided greatly if the United States continues to refuse to recognize Russia, since this will retard business relations between Uncle Sam and the Soviet Government and divert Russia's trade to European nations. Recognition might provide a much-needed outlet for our surplus commodities.

Socially and politically Russia is potentially the greatest factor in the future of world civilization. If she is spurned by the Occident and turns her face to the Orient, civilization may be diverted into new and curious channels of development. Regardless of the nature of her social and economic institutions, self-interest would seem to urge that the West endeavor to bring Russia back into the family of Occidental peoples. It is not inconceivable that even the revolutionary wrath of turbulent Muscovy may soften beneath the warmth of a more constructive social philosophy.

CULTURAL CONFLICT IN MEXICAN LIFE

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WHEN THE Spaniards landed on Mexican soil in 1519, they found in the high central plateau a great native population representing an advanced civilization. They found well organized races that had formed leagues and treaties among themselves. These native peoples had a system of land distribution worked out in the interest of the whole population; they had social institutions such as schools, a written language, books, and even collections of books, and many other things which mark a civilized culture. During a recent examination of a priceless collection of ancient manuscripts in Mexico City, I was able to trace the different cultures back to the pictographs on parchment written at least three hundred years before Columbus discovered America. The Indians whom the Spaniards conquered, then, were the descendants of very advanced nations which lived in Mexico thousands of years ago, and in passing, left behind them ruins of cities and monuments which archaeologists of our own generation are discovering and studying. One of the most recently unearthed pyramids has been buried for several thousand years under a great lava flow. Scholars tell us that the age of these monuments is in the neighborhood of 9,000 years.

The primitive peoples of Mexico evidently had considerable potentiality and might have developed a remarkable culture under favoring circumstances. But the conquerors

took possession of their territory, destroyed their cities, their monuments, their land system, and made many of them slaves.

It is interesting to note the differences between the founding of two great civilizations in the Western World: the Anglo-Saxon and the Spanish-American. Both races conquered the wilderness, both developed a national consciousness and separated from the mother country; but here the comparison ends and the differences begin. The Anglo-Saxons discovered a land thinly populated by wandering semi-barbarous tribes who fell an easy prey to the ruthless methods of the hardy white pioneers. North America from the earliest settlements became unmistakably a white man's land. Below the border, on the other hand, the all conquering Spaniards found an agricultural people scattered far and wide, living under varying conditions in high lands and low lands, too well established and too strong numerically to be exterminated as the Anglo-Saxon had crushed the North American Indians. When the Spaniards first came to Mexico the native population was approximately 18,000,000. At the close of the colonial period, three hundred years later, in a land rich in natural resources, the population had been reduced to something like 6,000,000.[1]

In 1805 the races were divided as follows:

Whites_____1,000,000 or 18 per cent of the total population
Mestizos____2,000,000 or 38 per cent of the total population
Indians_____2,500,000 or 44 per cent of the total population

In 1910 there were:

Whites_____1,150,000 or 7.5 per cent of the total population
Mestizos____8,000,000 or 53 per cent of the total population
Indians_____6,000,000 or 39 per cent of the total population

[1] Osuna, "The Social Aims of the Mexican Revolution," *Pomona College Magazine*, March, 1929, p. 239.

In their estimates of the 1930 population, some authorities claim that the Indians represent almost 50 per cent of the 16,000,000 people in Mexico, while the number of whites has remained virtually stationary for many generations. When we consider also that the Mestizos for the most part are thoroughly Indian in their social background and cultural traits, we can well appreciate the fact that Mexico is and will remain for some time to come an Indian land.

The slow growth of Mexico compared to the United States is in itself of sociological significance. Among the many factors responsible for this lag may be mentioned: the attitude of the colonial and Mexican governments toward foreigners, the early disappearance of free land, and the low standards of the working people, many of whom were kept in serfdom down to the twentieth century. The poverty stricken condition of the masses has been due, in turn, to the lack of tillable soil that does not require irrigation, to poor internal communication, and to the heat and humidity of the coastal regions.

Throughout Mexico may be seen forceful reminders of the long sustained struggle between the Latin and the Indian races on the one hand, and among the indigenous races themselves on the other.

In fact, Lumholtz, Starr, and Manuel Gamio, to mention but a few scientific observers, have pointed out that the main source of Mexico's many failures of the past must be sought in the constant clash of racial cultures which have characterized Mexico's social development. Toltec, Mayan, Aztec, Spanish, and Colonial cultures have all met with the same fate. Mexican culture alone survives, and the real problem now seems to be to "telescope the centu-

2 Gruening, *Mexico and Its Heritage*, p. 69.

ries, and to use decades instead of centuries for the social evolutionary process," before another alien culture has a chance to take the place of the present one. The most encouraging sign in the current complicated situation seems to be the reawakening of the native races, which have had a Latin culture forced upon them, to the cultural and spiritual values of the civilization which their Aztec and Toltec and Mixtec forefathers developed.[3]

To understand the cultural conflicts in Mexican life today, then, we must become better acquainted with the real Mexican, that free villager who is caught between two cultures—the language and folkways of his native tribe, and the language and the city ways introduced and sustained by an alien people. He desperately tries to reconcile the old with the new and oftentimes fails. In the first place, just as Mexico itself is a land of colorful contrasts, a land of lofty mountains and fertile valleys, a land of many climates, so there are varied races—native tribes with cultures strikingly different, just as, for example, the cultural traits of the Hopis or the Zunis of our own Southwest differ from those of the pastoral Navajoes, their next door neighbors. The radical changes in climate, from the heat and humidity of the tropics to the bracing air of the high central plateau, may be partly responsible for the differences among the Mexican Indian tribes themselves, but this does not tell the whole story. The Archbishop of Oaxaca, for example, is reported to have said: "In my diocese we have Indians as yellow as lemons and as black as coal; we have them so short that you could call them pygmies; and we have them taller than the ordinary white man; we have Indians who are good and Indians who are bad." More than fifteen languages are spoken in the State of Oaxaca today, and more than 90 per cent of its popula-

3 Moisès Sáenz, Proceedings, "The Seminar in Mexico," 1929.

tion are pure blood Indian.[4]   Or we may recall what Lumholtz wrote of two neighboring primitive tribes: "the Coras are unusually brave while the Huichols are cowards preferring assassination to open war."

It is a mistake, then, to generalize too freely about the Mexican Indian, just as it is unsound to speak in general terms of the "European" or the "Asiatic."   There are racial differences among the indigenous tribes as marked as those which we find among the English and the Russians, or among the Chinese and the Japanese.   A visit to the school which the Federal Government has established for Indian children will convince anyone of the vast differences which exist among the natives of different tribes. Some show remarkable ability and capacity, in every way the equal of the white race, while others are inert, dull, and unresponsive.

Nevertheless, there are many personal characteristics, customs, and conditions which will appy equally well to Mexicans the country over.   The typical Indian has patience and endurance exceeding that of the white man, but he has less initiative and dynamic force.   Centuries of exploitation under alien rulers may be largely responsible for this inertia.   The Indian is a natural artist possessing rare mechanical skill.   As an American friend who has lived for the past twenty years among the native tribes explains: "He is imitative but not original.   Everything that the Indian does is rhythmic, and he achieves a harmonious unity with his tools which leaves him fresh after hours of toil." We of the white race would be better off had we some Indian blood in our veins, says another close observer of Indian ways.   "We are too nervous, high strung, restless, while the Indian is calm, patient and long suffering."   The Indian left to his own devices is not acquisitive—money

4 Starr, *Mexico and the Caribbean*, pp. 16-17.

means little to him so long as he is not associating with the white man. Here is a craftsman, for example, who makes pottery in his native village for the market located twenty miles away. All the time he is fashioning his earthen pots and jars, he carries in his mind a picture of the future scene in which he expects to be the principal actor. The Market place is before him, the townspeople who will come to buy his wares, his fellow craftsmen who will be on hand to display their pottery as he displays his. Their critical appraisal of his workmanship will satisfy his "wish for recognition" more than any money reward can possibly do. In other words, living as he does in a simple, economic order, he is able to feel the thrill of creative workmanship. He can well afford that luxury of integrity which Stuart Chase finds so lacking in this country under prevailing industrial conditions. According to a prearranged schedule, he starts for the distant market place with a heavy load on his back. One may stop this merchant-craftsman as he plods slowly along the road toward his destination, and offer a price for his wares which will bring him a higher return than he plans to get in the market place twenty miles away. The bargainer may point out the obvious advantage of an immediate sale over a future sale at the end of a long tiresome journey cityward. But if the Indian has formed the mental picture of an admiring group of fellow craftsmen and townspeople who have recognized his skill in the past, he will probably pay no heed to the offer, and continue on his pilgrimage. He will not take the trouble to explain to the white man, and in all probability the white man would not understand anyway, that he is expressing in his workmanship and in his salesmanship the whole man, and not merely a part of the man as we are forced to do in our high speed machine age. Understanding the psychology of the Indian, who is in reality the basic

factor in Mexico's varied population, becomes a matter of primary concern.

The world of the educated classes who dwell in the large cities and on the haciendas, is singularly apart from the village folk of Mexico. These villagers are not in touch with outside affairs and are often unable to express themselves in terms which are understandable to aliens. As Mexico becomes modernized, city ways will doubtless gain at the expense of folkways, yet, in spite of this eventual change, the masses will remain essentially "folk" for many years to come. We may recall Sumner's classification: "the classes are the relatively small group of well informed people who tend to live mentally and socially apart from the large majority: the 'masses' include both folk peoples, and the common people of civilized and completely literate countries."

This contrast is seen everywhere in Mexico, particularly on the haciendas and in the cities. In the rural districts stand the luxurious ranch homes of the hacendados alongside of the pitifully inadequate one-room thatched huts of the peons who receive from 25 to 50 centavos, with a small measure of corn, in return for a long day's work in the fields.

In Mexico City, moreover, where many of the natives are no more folk people than the inhabitants of Boston or Los Angeles, the gap between rich and poor, literate and illiterate, is just as clearly marked—the "classes" living in palatial mansions, the "masses" in dark, poorly ventilated rooms and shacks. One may see today on unimproved lots in the heart of the most fashionable residential districts, Mexican families huddled about small, open fires in crumbling adobe structures, amid broken boxes, tin cans, dogs, cats, chickens, turkeys, and pigs, and apparently making very little effort to maintain a standard of living

any higher than that of the domestic animals which share the one- or two-room shelter with the members of the family. In view of urban congestion it is not surprising, then, to learn that the "coefficient of mortality per thousand inhabitants of Mexico City is nearly treble the average mortality coefficient of American cities having similar population."[5]

There are notable exceptions to the prevalence of disease in Mexico City wherever modern hygiene and sanitation have been introduced. I recall the excellent health of the inmates of a girls' reformatory recently established in the Federal District, 300 strong, whose ages ranged from 8 to 20. The girls came for the most part from the worst types of homes and represent all degrees of intelligence, yet at the time of my visit to the institution which happened to occur during the rainy season, the ultra modern infirmary could show but one lone patient who happened to be suffering from a cold.

As one goes from city to city, from the plateau to the lowlands, from village to village, he cannot fail to be impressed by the remarkable persistence of native culture. In fact, in many isolated districts the indigenous culture has remained unaltered, and as we come nearer to the cities and note the influence of urbanization, we are surprised again and again to find so much of the ancient Indian heritage surviving, in spite of the inevitable social change. It is evident that cultural conflicts have never ceased, in spite of the fact that race prejudice such as we have it in the United States, does not exist. Mexicans do not draw the color line, but they are divided intellectually and socially into two camps—those who believe that the "Spaniards destroyed a great and promising civilization"

[5] Gruening, *Mexico and Its Heritage*, p. 533.

and those who declare that the Spaniards substituted civilization for barbarism.[6] I have heard more than one upper class Mexican say in substance: "Peons are an ungrateful and hopeless lot. If you raise their wages they work less, if you are kind to them they merely take advantage of you." "The dominant though inarticulate mass of Indians are destroying European culture and weakening the Latin strain."

The village is the balance wheel of all Mexican phenomena, says Carlton Beals. To know rural Mexico is to understand most of the entire country's racial and cultural conflicts. The village community, the home of the much despised masses, is to a greater or less degree bi-lingual and bi-cultural. It is trying to preserve, often with indifferent success, the ancient language and customs of the forefathers, and at the same time to adjust itself to meet the needs of a modernized Mexico.

Mexico's rural organization differs from the one that we are familiar with in the United States. In place of the individual family living on a separate farm, Mexico has a small group of families living together and forming the rural population unit. In many cases these groups of inhabitants, numbering anywhere from 10 to 300 people, live secluded lives, separated from other communities by mountain ranges and arid plains, by racial and cultural barriers, and very slightly influenced one way or another by changes that are taking place in other parts of the world. Here the natives have been drawn together in close settlements by an ever present need for a common defense against natural and human foes, and here we find the folk lore, the folk song, and the folkways playing a most important role in molding the behavior patterns of the villagers.

[6] Gruening, *Mexico and Its Heritage*, pp. 77-78.

The rural community is poor, extremely poor. In the first place, there is not enough land to go around, and then there is a scarcity of work animals and farm implements. The tillers of the soil depend largely upon hand tools and follow the primitive methods of pre-colonial days. This crude culture persists because of the comparative isolation of Mexican village life, and during the rainy seasons, many of the ordinary means of communication—roads, mail service, etc.—are completely shut off. Whole districts are without books, newspapers, or magazines, without teachers or doctors, and still using barter in lieu of a common medium of exchange.

The houses are one-room adobes in the high altitudes and bamboo sticks or reeds in the coastal regions. There is ordinarily only one entrance to each room, and windows are rare. Glass windows are seldom seen. The floors are dirty, and sanitation is extremely crude. This unhygienic condition is due in part to the lack of a sufficient water supply and in part to a total ignorance of habits of cleanliness. The water supply for many a village is a stagnant pool. Men and beasts drink it, and the women use it for washing and cooking. The extremely high infant mortality rate is undoubtedly due to the polluted water used, and those who survive must have developed considerable immunity to disease germs. The scarcity of good water has probably led many communities to depend entirely upon alcoholic beverages, especially the national drink pulque, which is responsible for much drunkenness and dissipation in all parts of Mexico. The intelligently informed realize how much harm pulque is doing to the masses, but they encounter the bitterest opposition from religious and economic forces, as well as from the natives themselves, whenever they attempt to limit its consumption. There is a legend that the Toltecs first fermented

the whitish juice of the maguey plant, and became so addicted to the beverage that they brought about their own destruction. For pulque is not only harmful in itself, but it may transmit almost every germ disease known to man. When we consider the effects of chronic alcoholism, the venereal diseases, digestive diseases, tuberculosis, and malaria, so prevalent in every tropical land, we may agree with Pani that the true problem of Mexico consists in hygienizing the population, physically and morally; or we may sympathize with Flandrau who studies the conditions under which the natives live and marvels "not like the tourist of a week, that they are dirty, but that under the circumstances that they are as clean as they are; not that so many of them are continuously sick, but that any of them are ever well; not that they love to get drunk, but that they can bear to remain sober."

We have said that city ways in Mexico are gaining at the expense of the folkways. In other words, that the sharpest cultural conflicts are not between one village community and another, or one rural district and another, but between city people who represent Latin culture and country folk who are Indian. The white man is Catholic in religion or agnostic, while the Indian is and always has been a worshipper of his old tribal gods; the white man is a capitalist, the Indian a laborer. The Spanish-Americans live in luxurious homes in cities or on the haciendas; the Indians are rural folk with miserable huts as dwelling places. The alien descendants of the conquerors are in touch with the recent scientific discoveries and with the philosophies of the past; the Indian is illiterate, and woefully ignorant of modern world trends.

To illustrate the conflict and confusion that takes place in the mind of the native whose early background is that of the folk, who finds himself torn between two cultures

with one foot in one world and the other foot in another, neither of which completely satisfies his yearning for self expression or race consciousness, Redfield, in his study of Tepotzlán, gives the life history of an Indian whom he styles the "marginal man." This individual lived in his native village until he was 19 years of age and then went to Cuernavaca to school and later to the normal college in Mexico City. In the course of his studies he became interested in the Nahautl language which seemed to symbolize in his mind the slow emergence of a true race consciousness. A pure Indian himself, he married a Mestizo, and became the father of four children. Although he was able to make a fair living in Mexico City, he always felt keenly that his position as a low paid employee among a mass of other native workers was hopeless, and he early developed an intense desire "to lift up my homeland out of the sink into which it has fallen." Consequently when his father who had been living in Tepoztlán as the keeper of the pre-Columbian ruins, died, the son returned to his native town and to his father's job, his house, and his farm. The period of readjustment was a difficult one for all members of the family, especially for the wife whose relatives had lived for many years according to the city ways of the metropolis. His efforts to change the folkways of his birthplace into popular ways met with little success, and the school which he started with such high hopes failed because "it was opposed by the priest." After five years of mental and physical unadjustment, facing daily the hardships of primitive life, he reluctantly gave up the struggle and returned with his invalid wife and the two surviving children to Mexico City.

In acknowledging defeat, he has given up temporarily his dreams of a better and finer village life for his people, and he now seeks compensation in an entirely different

world. He is planning to learn English and go to the United States where "one can make money." Perhaps he may there find a linguist who will take an interest in the preservation of his Nahautl tongue.

The sad experience of this one Indian may be taken as symbolic of much that is going on in Mexican life today. The folk people are beginning to feel the impact of "popular" ways. Out of this sharp conflict between the old cultures and the new, a different Mexico will arise, which will be neither alien Spanish nor indigenous Indian, but a fusion of the two, representing a type of culture better adapted than either one of these to the contemporary needs of the Mexican people.[7]

[7] Redfield, *Tepoztlán*, p. 213, et seq.

THE AUTO CAMP AS A NEW TYPE OF HOTEL

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THE AUTOMOBILE tourist camp is merely a new variety of an old institution. Like the caravansery its name suggests the intimate relationship between the temporary habitat for the traveler and the form of transportation that brings its guests. In fact each stage in the evolution from animal to power transportation seems to have been associated with changes in the forms of hospitality.

At first hospitality was apparently free. As travel by animal drawn vehicles and sailing vessels increased, however, the inn gradually came to supplant free hospitality. Even today in areas like the central part of Asia the inn or caravansery still persists. But with the building of railroads and steamships came a more comfortable transient abode in the form of a hotel and finally with the development of the automobile and automobile touring has come a new form of commercialized hospitality, the auto camp. It is the function of this paper to characterize these successive types of hotel.

Not always has hospitality been commercialized. In the isolated pioneer homestead of America or Australia the stranger brought news from the outside world and stories of adventure. As a result the traveler was usually welcome and no charge was made for food and a night's lodging. Catering to the creature comforts of the stranger was simply one of the many activities that centered in the pioneer home.

A similar attitude of hospitality characterized the monasteries and manor houses of medieval England and retarded the development of inns. The gradual evolution of the inn from the less specialized manor house is well described in the following statement:

Such few travelers as were benighted on the road, small merchants or pedlers going to a local fair, a knight or squire on his way to court, King's messengers and officials, would naturally put up at the manorhouse. Hospitality was so rarely called for that it was willingly afforded, just as it is at an Australian homestead in the backwoods.

By the middle of the fourteenth century the roads had become more frequented, and it was no longer the fashion for the lord to reside in the comparatively humble manor-house. The cost of living had increased; the nobility were impoverished by attendance at court, the foreign wars, and their crowd of retainers. So the lord retired to his more secluded castle or country seat, leaving strangers to be entertained at the manor-house by a steward who afterwards was replaced by a regular innkeeper as tenant.[1]

The "coaching inns" developed to meet the needs of the stage-coach travelers of a later period in England. Among these needs the wish for security was at first dominant.

The coaches started on their journey each morning and evening from great inn yards surrounded by tiers of galleries one above the other. Sometimes, as at the *Bull and Mouth* in St. Martins le Grand, or the *Oxford Arms* in Warwich Lane, there were four stories of these galleries. It is not easy to trace the various steps by which the plan of the coaching inn was evolved from the "corrall" of migrating tribes, who when resting for the night arranged their wagons in a hollow square, with their cattle in the center. But the idea underlying the coaching inn was a species of fortress entered only by the great archway with massive doors strongly barred at closing time. The bed-chambers of the guests all opened into galleries overlooking the yard. When an alarm was raised each owner of wagons or cattle in the yard could at once hurry out to the defense

[1] Maskell and Gregory, *Old Country Inns of England,* pp. 5-6.

of his property. Later on, the traveler would be bound to hear the
note of the guard's horn, warning him that the coach in which he
had booked a place was preparing to start.[2]

It is clear that English inns were fundamentally a re-
sponse to animal-drawn transportation, and materials on
the evolution of inns in other countries suggest that this
response was a widespread phenomenon. Previously in
the Roman Empire inns had been fairly well provided
along the great highways and "could lodge beasts and men
at the same time; could give shelter to the host, to the
guest, servants and baggage."[3] Since before the time of
Christ there have existed throughout Asia stopping places
along the caravan routes where men and beasts of burden
were offered refreshment and rest for the night. Usually
there was a central space open to the skies and around it
rough sheds or roofed-in enclosures for the stabling of ani-
mals or the accommodation of travelers. "In two thou-
sand years they evidently have changed very little, either
in design or in the smallness of their conveniences" writes
Robert B. Ludy in *Historic Hotels of the World*.

With the Industrial Revolution in occidental nations
came the development of the railroad and the steamship.

> We hear no more of the clanging hoof
> And the stage coach rattling by;
> For the steam king rules the troubled world,
> And the old Pike's left to die.[4]

It was this shift to steam transportation that facilitated
the development of the hotel in the modern sense of that
word.

Not only did the word hotel become more frequently applied to
the larger hostelries in England in the early years of the nineteenth

2 *Ibid.*, pp. 82-83.
3 Firebaugh, *Inns of Greece and Rome*, p. 245.
4 Jenkins, *The Old Boston Post Road*, p. 42.

century, but the period saw the primitive inn transformed into a more complete type of shelter for the traveler.

When the stage coach lines were at the zenith of their importance in England, the coaching houses or inns represented the best accommodation a traveler in that country could expect. At the termini of the coach lines and at the important posting houses along the roads, where horses were changed were to be found the coaching inns. This system has been transferred to the railroads which followed the stage coaches, and all of the railroads of England have hotels attached to their important stations, a method which is found in only a very few instances in the United States.

The last quarter of the nineteenth century witnessed decided improvement in the design, capacity and speed of the trans-Atlantic steamships, and in the great number of voyagers from the United States to the Old World. British hotels not only increased in number but were provided with many attractions which were not lost on the tourists. Travelers there have been, but the tourist may be defined as a traveler who seeks pleasure and recreation if they may be obtained comfortably. Consequently, the tourist as a type followed the steam railway and the steamship; and the modern hotel is the accompaniment of convenient transportation systems.[5]

On May 1, 1928, the Hotel Red Book and the American Hotel Association found 25,950 hotels in the United States containing rooms and 576,000 employees.[6] An interesting conclusion from this survey is that the larger the hotel the larger the number of employees per 100 rooms and the larger the annual sales and investment per room.[7]

[5] Adapted from Robert B. Ludy, op. cit., pp. 159-60.

[6] This listing is accompanied by the following explanation: "The total number of hotels in the country as reported by any enumerator will vary with the interpretation of just what constitutes a hotel. Many wayside inns in the rural districts, and likewise many lodging houses in the larger cities are in, what might be termed, the twilight zone. In this survey every effort has been made to be conservative." See the writer's article, "Hotel Life and Personality," American Journal of Sociology, March, 1928, pp. 784-95 for a criticism of statistics of hotels and the hotel population.

[7] The average was 28 employees per 100 rooms for hotels less than 50 rooms, but 83 employees per hundred rooms for hotels over 1,000 rooms. The contrast in annual sales per room for these classes of hotels was even greater—$300 as compard with $3,100.

The leading hotels of the American city tend to be located in the central business district on sites accessible to the shopping area and to the means of transportation. In general the percentage of transiency in the hotel population decreases as the hotel is located farther, in time and cost, from the city center. Residential hotels usually occupy the more attractive sites outside the central business district and yet accessible to it. In Chicago they tend to form a line along the Lake Front with clusters in Hyde Park on the South Side and in the Wilson Avenue District on the North Side, and in Seattle are most numerous on First Hill east of the business center. The lodging house, a marginal type of hotel, is customarily located in the transition zone between the business district and the residential areas.

Just as the inn developed in response to travel in animal-drawn vehicles and the hotel in response to the growth of railroads[8] and the steamship so the automobile tourist camp has developed as a new type of habitat for the traveler in response to the development of the automobile and automobile touring.

The pioneers in this mode of touring made camp wherever suitable space could be found—frequently on the outskirts of towns near the roadside. Gradually it became the custom of municipal parks authorities to allow auto-parties to camp in out-of-the-way corners of public parks. Many commercial organizations, likewise, saw their opportunity, and the auto-tourist camp (an institution which five years ago was practically unknown) was created to meet the need.[9]

[8] The increasingly important automobile stage with its established route, fixed schedule and regular stopping place seems to be associated with hotels in a way similar to the railroads. Bus terminal hotels with small rooms renting for as low as one dollar have been built at Salem and at Roseburg in Oregon. A survey of Pacific Coast stage schedules indicates that, although hotels are frequently advertised, auto camps are not mentioned. The evolution of the auto camp seems to be associated with the increase in number of privately owned cars, and the automobile tourist movement.

[9] Rolland S. Wallis, "Auto-Tourist Camps," National Municipal Review, 12:180-81, April, 1923.

The next step in the evolution of the tourist camp, the transition from free to pay camps, is indicated in the following selection:

In the beginning, all motor camps were "free" and the city or private interests operating such stopping places depended upon making a profit from selling such things as gasoline, oil, accessories, and food. Western camps were notoriously in the limelight for the vast amount they had to offer "for little or nothing." Today even Western camps have swung over to "pay" camps.[10]

The third transition in the natural history of the auto camp is suggested in another excerpt from this article:

Camps located in an all-year climate or in the Southland where campers spend several months of the winter in one place, started the cottage-camp idea. Now it has spread over the country until old-style tourist camps are becoming more and more deserted.

The advantages which the better type of cabin camp presents in competition with the hotel for tourist patronage may perhaps best be presented in the exact language of an auto camp owner in a letter to the author:

Advantages of this camp over hotels, is when the traveler drives under the shed of his cabin he is at *home*, and can feel at ease. Stopping at hotels he has to take out what baggage he thinks he needs and have it lugged to his room while he takes his car to some garage and walks back. He has been traveling all day and is dusty and feels grimy, his clothes are wrinkled, and when he goes in to register he thinks everyone is looking him over. When he tries to clean up to go out and eat, he finds his clothing packed in the car all mussed up, and if he changes he is conscious of his appearance, even though no one is paying any attention to him. He has no place to sit around where he can get fresh air, either his room or the lobby. In the morning he has to get his car from the garage and pack his baggage again in front of the hotel. When he settled up he is out

10 F. E. Brimmer, "The Nickel-and-dime Stores of Nomadic America," *Magazine of Business*, 52:151-2, August, 1927. By 1928 Mr. Brimmer saw a more definite trend toward the cottage camp. "Tourists are a bit weary of pitching and breaking camp and generally playing Indian," he said.

about three times as much as if he stopped in a good camp, has not rested as well as he would have in camp, and has felt like a bum all the time he was in the hotel.

On the other hand, the advantages which the first class hotel offers the tourist are suggested by the following excerpt from a letter to the author written by the manager of a leading hotel.

I realize what a keen competition the Auto Camp is to the second and third rate hotels. The fact that people are close to their cars and baggage and can get their own meals all for very reasonable prices has been the main thing which has induced them to use the tourist camps, and it is practically impossible for the smaller hotels to furnish anything to offset this combination.

Of course, in a hotel of this class one of the things that is our salvation in the matter is that the average person enjoys comfort and likes to follow the line of least resistance, so having plenty of money it is far easier for the tourist party to arrive at the hotel and for the bell boys or porters to handle the baggage and the doorman take care of their car and take it to the garage where it will be washed up and well taken care of. The women in the party will not have to set the house to rights or cook the meals.

A study of 714 auto camps in the Evergreen Playground,[11] soon to be published, indicates that 551 or 77.2 per cent are cabin camps with a total of 5,450 cabins. A majority of these camps have running water, wood stoves for which the wood is furnished, electric lights, store, and a community house or kitchen. A considerable proportion also provide shower baths and laundry facilities. The usual tenting charge is 50 cents per day, but the cabin charges range with a few exceptions from $1.00 to $2.00 per day. Maps showing the geographical distribution of these camps suggest a rough classification into two fundamental types: (1) commercial or en route camps located

11 Western Oregon and Washington and Southwestern British Columbia.

on or near the main highways and (2) resort or terminal camps located in the mountains or on the water at objective points for vacationing. Although municipal camps are declining both in number and importance and private camps are rapidly increasing in popularity, the auto camp business in the Pacific Northwest is still in the pioneer stage of its development.

DISCUSSION BY DR. CLARENCE MARSH CASE

of paper by Dr. Norman Hayner

AMONG the admirable features of this interesting paper by Dr. Hayner, I wish to emphasize first his many stimulating glimpses into the historic perspective which lies back of the modern hotel.

Still more important are Dr. Hayner's discovery, in his preliminary field survey, that we have the two types of "highway" and "terminal" camps. This is substantially true, although there are camps, like those at San Antonio or El Paso, which serve simultaneously as terminal camps for the northern plains states in winter, and highway camps for the transcontinental traffic from Southern California to Florida.

Dr. Hayner's principle, that the mode of transportation determines the type of hospitality, is true but apparently not the whole truth. My own study, which includes residence in forty-nine camps between Central California, New England, Florida, and along the Gulf and Border States, suggests that the formula should read: *The mode of transportation and the social status of the traveler determine the type of hospitality.* Observations made on that expedition disclosed three types of stopping-place for automobile tourists, namely: (1) the original auto "camp" where travelers of the poorer economic level pitch their tents or house-wagons; (2) the well equipped cabin type which I propose to call the home cottage court, frequented by the middle economic class; (3) the new kind of cottage hotel (e.g., "Motel"), luxuriously furnished and served like any other hotel, but placed directly on the highway, and frequented by tourists of ample means.

These three types are used by the three economic classes mentioned but their guests drive cars of the same make, new or old, and thus use the same mode of transportation. The social or economic status is the most active factor in determining which type of hospitality they will use.

CULTURAL CHANGE IN CHINA

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THE CONCEPTIONS and tools used by the social anthropologists afford a valuable instrument for understanding the complex changing situation in contemporary China.

The Chinese people as truly as the Southern Europeans in America today are immigrants into a new civilization. Geographical conditions are different and the influence of the past culture stronger, but in a very real sense contemporary educated China is in a state of cultural change very similar to the condition of the immigrant group settling in an American city.

In few cultural areas is the ancient culture complex of a group more clear-cut than in China. The family clan, the village, and the commercial or industrial guild had their own relatively fixed pattern of life and also had many points in common. They were all merely local in interest; in all three the paternalistic system ruled and youth was suppressed. In all, custom and tradition determined activity in an unusually thorough-going manner. The villages of north China are so similar that if one understands thoroughly the workings of one or two villages, he has a picture of the life in the thousands of villages stretching over the plain. The architecture of the houses, the council of the elders where centered the government of the group, the temple festivals, the position and occupation of women, and the family ancestral worship were strikingly similar. Although the guilds varied in forms of local organization, their deference to the elders, their functions of monopoly

and control, and forms of religious worship of the guild founder were a clear-cut pattern.

The mental attitudes associated with the old culture pattern included a high degree of respect for the elders, a fear of change from the old ways, a reverence for the past, a lack of initiative, and a very weak sense of individuality on the part of the members of each group, and a strong sense of group unity.

The educational system, as distinguished from these local groupings, was national in extent. Trained in the ancient classics, without desire to create new forms or types of literature or political activity, the scholars with their faces toward the past and their study devoted purely to the classics made sacred and fixed the moral attitudes and valuations of the ancient order. Selected without distinction regarding birth, the educational system was a democratic method of selecting the leaders of the nation in governmental, educational, and social life. Once, however, having passed the examination in the classics and becoming members of the official class, the literati developed a set of attitudes and an outlook of a definite pattern. They were scorners of the one who had to labor with his hands. They were theorists dealing with the symbols and ideas of a past generation, lovers of form and tradition. They were proud of belonging to the group that ruled the nation and controlled the mind and behavior of the people.

The method of the modification of this ancient and well defined culture pattern is of especial interest. The diffusion of the Euro-American culture was not primarily what Wissler terms "natural diffusion," but rather what he terms "organized diffusion." Of the three groups of westerners that composed the army of invaders and propagandists, the missionary was not the only evangelist. The methods and practices of western merchants were consid-

ered by these merchants as ways that the Chinese should use if they were to be "civilized." The diplomat demanded that the Chinese court and Chinese officials conform to the practices of the western world in their international relations and allow foreign nations to set up their own approved machinery for the legal and political control of their own nationals. The missionaries were not only propagating the dogmas of a foreign religion but through the demonstration made possible by the mission compound they automatically became a successful advertising agency for the Delco Lighting Plant, for the Singer Sewing Machine, for the small family system, for methods of modern sanitation and hygiene, for a new life of recreation and play. China thus affords a remarkable field for the study of cultural diffusion.

The changing attitudes of the thinking people of China as they came increasingly into contact with western culture is an instructive study. The ancient attitude was one of scorn for the civilization of the western barbarians. The superior attitude of the learned Chinese was reflected in imperial edicts which, whether toward British King, American President, or the Pope, revealed an exalted sense of superiority and utter scorn of the proposals and plans and culture of the West. Following the demonstrations of military force in the sixties, there was a vacillation on the part of the rulers of the nation and a giving away to the demands of the westerners. There followed in the nineties a new attitude made famous by the great Viceroy Chang Chih Tung in his little book, *China's Only Hope*. The main thesis was that it had become a necessity for the Chinese to accept the mechanical tools of the West—the factories, the arsenals, the modes of communication—but that it was the sacred duty of the Chinese, while accepting these, to preserve the ancient morality and religion. The first

important investment of the Chinese nation in foreign machinery was the purchase of a flotilla of battleships, and the first factory to be built is said to have been an arsenal.

Towards the end of the nineties the new movement revealed a changing attitude in the writings of Kang Yi Wei, Ku Hung Ming, and Liang Chi Chao, a realization that the ancient classics and moral ideals interpreted in the ancient way no longer were adequate to the situation. They advocated a reinterpretation of the ancient classics. Kang Yi Wei and others found in the ancient writings not only the theory but the detailed plans for social reconstruction. From this classic source was discovered the advocacy of old age insurance, public health reform, state socialism, and economic principles of the most important nature. No American theological writer who wished to reinforce socially needed methods by a scriptural interpretation could have been more painstaking! During the early years of the republic, from 1911 to 1916, the mind of thinking China again had a reversal of attitude. New things from the West were welcomed whether in the realm of ideas or material culture because they were new and from the West. The foundations of the ancient order were challenged, and Chen Tu Hsiu in 1915 proclaimed that Confucius was the enslaver of the minds of young China. In dress, western styles were sought. The government must now have a constitution and two houses of parliament. Evangelists from the West, Sherwood Eddy and John R. Mott particularly, had a wide hearing in the large cities of China. What was formerly scorned by the scholars was now eagerly welcomed.

The World War, 1914-1918, marked the beginning of a more critical attitude and the realization that the taking on of the forms of the West were not sufficient. Prominent Chinese have said to the writer that the war revealed

the moral bankruptcy of Western civilization and that while China was to modernize her life, using what tools she could borrow from the West, the former notions of a more critical attitude towards the moral and religious ideals from the Occident were still highly advisable.

A series of movements and schools of thought have made the attitude of contemporary thinking China less clear-cut. On the one hand, the Russian influence has tended toward an internationalism of outlook and a sense of identity with the oppressed peoples of the world, while the growing success and strength of nationalist China has created the intense patriotism and national self-consciousness which characterizes the attitudes of the leaders of nationalist China. While on the one hand, young China realizes that the nation must be modernized, and holds to the motto of Sun Yat Sen, "All knowledge and special skill come from science," on the other hand, she resents attitudes of superiority on the part of any group of westerners and she is extremely jealous both of her political rights and of her privilege of selecting and choosing what elements of western culture she desires to make use of. She is willing to accept advice and help from the West, as evidenced by the use of the Kammerar Commission for the reorganization of national finance, but she wishes to select her own advisors and to cooperate with them as she desires.

Other interesting topics suggest themselves in a study of cultural change in China. The analysis of cultural change shows a rapid and almost complete mental revolution on the part of the millions of modern educated China. It also reveals the failure of many institutions that have been in operation for centuries to meet the present situation. It also shows the relative strength of the invasion of western machinery and appliances as an instrument of creating social change and of the methods of propaganda

made use of both by the Christian missionaries and the Russian communists.

In the cultural change of China the greatest single transformation, which is the key to many other changes, is the revolution of the educational system. The abolition of the ancient examination system in 1906 and the growth of the present school system has weakened the strongest defense of the ancient order. This group, well-nigh worshipped by the common people, because of their learning and wisdom, have undergone the most complete transformation. The modern scholar, with his almost total lack of careful knowledge of the ancient classics, and with his interest primarily in social and natural science, is now the leader. It is, however, the heritage of the past embodied in the attitudes of respect and honor on the part of the common people for the scholars that has made possible the remarkably rapid change of the present era. Those who had the function of making secure the ancient order are now the leaders of the people into a new social, economic, political, and intellectual life.

<div align="center">DISCUSSION BY DR. ARTHUR G. COONS</div>

<div align="center">*of paper by Dr. John Stewart Burgess*</div>

I COUNT myself privileged to be asked to open the discussion on Dr. Burgess' splendid and very thoughtful paper, even though it may seem presuming for an economist, whose only basis for speaking on the subject is a very brief study of the economic and financial problems of China, to discuss subjects which are primarily of sociological import.

The present political unrest which has been all too evident in China with the attempts to unseat the so-called Soong dynasty at Nanking remind one of the long experiences of the old imperial order in which civil war was not an uncommon thing and in which the occasional dynastic changes were the resultants of such civil war.

Rebellions of viceroys and provincial leaders throughout many centuries have been sufficiently frequent to make applicable the statement of Dr. Arthur N. Holcombe that the Chinese are "the most rebellious, but the least revolutionary of peoples." From present observations one would believe that this is true. There is, however, this qualifying fact—while superficially these disturbances have caused periodic changes in government leadership, fundamentally China changed but little as a result thereof.

However, China has been changing in many respects in recent years as Dr. Burgess has told us. Recent disturbances, i.e., since 1912, have changed not only the political leadership but political structure as well. But fundamentally the economic and social life is less disturbed by surface tension than one would think. One is surprised to observe the small amount of its influence upon trade, except in those relatively small sections of the country where civil war has been most pronounced.

From another angle the statement of Dr. Holcombe is becoming less applicable. If one thinks of revolution as being not necessarily a violent movement of a people, but as a great amount of social change accomplished within a relatively short period of time, then one is impressed with the fact that in the present decade the Chinese are revealing themselves as most revolutionary.

In fact traditional China, gathering within this phrase many of the things to which Dr. Burgess has alluded, has been disintegrating. In historical perspective, this was occasioned by the influence of international economics—the impact of trade, industrialism and investment—as these became the wedges for other factors. The economic changes with all their social concomitants, have been coming, and China is leaping from an economic institutional life of a family system, of a village economy with an old social control—to a new order, which suggests that she may be skipping certain social changes of our own experience. But, although the international economic influence was historically the initial disintegrating factor, from what Dr. Burgess has presented, it scarcely seems possible that one could fairly apply today to the economic element the title of "largest single disintegrating factor."

What will the new order be? No one can tell. One can only observe the trends of movements as they present themselves in contemporaneous life.

In the political field one observes the way in which western political thought has in a great degree been accepted. China is eager to obtain full sovereignty and to convert this into a recognition of the equality of states. China comes to the world with a large measure of social democracy already inherent in her social system. New meanings of democracy are finding their way into the political ideology of that country. China has also been influenced, and probably will be influenced in a more rapid way by the West's ideas of social control in economic life which are now evidencing themselves so strongly in Occidental life.

One wonders what further joining of individualistic and socialistic thought may yet occur in China. China is combining the political heritage of her own past with that of the world, turning both to the west and to the east of her own country. Great changes are imminent—changes which may bring increased desire upon the part of certain groups in the Western world for restoration of control—but the day of foreign tutelage is past. An attitude of mutual helpfulness would appear as the only permanent solution. China must go her own way, except with the help sought by her from other powers, the world must watch her go.

Book Notes

INTRODUCTION TO RURAL SOCIOLOGY. By CHARLES R. HOFFER. Richard R. Smith, Inc., New York, 1930, pp. 418.

Rural sociologists have produced a series of textbooks. Each author has a more or less unique approach and emphasis, but all endeavor to present a comprehensive picture of rural conditions. Hawthorne and Sims were the first to use central themes and concepts around which they organized the material. Sorokin and Zimmerman compare rural with urban life. Vogt, Gillette, Taylor, and Hayes consider certain problems and questions pertaining to rural life. Hoffer is of the opinion that it is largely a matter of preference on the part of any author regarding the method he uses to discover, explain, and correlate the facts. The main objective, he thinks, is correctness of analysis and clearness of presentation. The function of rural sociology is not to map out a program of social reform but to present facts and then on the basis of the facts develop sociological theories that will assist people to see the conditions and trends of rural life.

The book is divided into three parts, dealing respectively with the rural population and its characteristics, rural social institutions, and rural social organization. The contents are confined to the sociological interpretation of facts pertaining to rural conditions as they appear to have significance in all sections of the country and not peculiar to any given area. The synthesis of the latest findings pertaining to the topics under consideration represents the chief contribution of this volume.

The writers in the field of rural sociology draw most of the material from the central agricultural region of the United States. This is largely due to the comparatively few studies which have been made of rural conditions west of the Rocky Mountains and certain other sections of the country. Regional characteristics are seldom stressed in rural sociology textboks.   M. H. N.

MEXICAN IMMIGRATION TO THE UNITED STATES. By
MANUEL GAMIO. University of Chicago Press,, 1930, pp. xviii
+262.

TEPOZTLAN, A MEXICAN VILLAGE. By ROBERT REDFIELD.
University of Chicago Press, 1930, pp. xi+247.

THE EDUCATION OF MEXICAN AND SPANISH-SPEAKING
CHILDREN IN TEXAS. By H. T. MANUEL. University
of Texas, 1930, pp. ix+173.

MEXICANS IN CALIFORNIA. Report of Governor C. C. Young's
Mexican Fact-Finding Committee, 1930, pp. 214.

Dr. Gamio's study has been boiled down and edited by one who
signs himself as "editor" but does not disclose his identity. In his
editorial note he promises that the author will publish later a num-
ber of autobiographies of Mexican immigrants. A special phase of
Dr. Gamio's book is the entensive study which is presented of the
money orders sent back to Mexico by immigrants here. The money
orders throw light on the sections of Mexico from which successful
immigrants have come. They also indicate in what states in the
United States the successful Mexican immigrants are located. Dur-
ing the period studied in 1927, the money orders from Mexicans
came from all the states in the United States save four and were
sent to approximately five hundred and fifty cities in Mexico. Inter-
esting chapters appear on the interracial relations, culture back-
grounds, mentality of the immigrant, songs of the immigrant, reli-
gion, immigrant attitudes and institutions, social mobility, and immi-
gration and revolution. Attempts at repatriation in Mexico have
been made but have failed because the returned immigrants are not
trained in social organization. They have wished to have Mexico
view the colonization program in a paternalistic light. The reader
receives a fairly good picture of the Mexican, not complete, but sup-
ported by statistical data. The life history volume that is promised
will serve to give color to this statistical account.

In his volume, Dr. Redfield does a neat piece of work, taking the
village of Tepoztlan, a community of about four thousand, located
fifty miles from Mexico City, and giving a cultural account of a peo-
ple chiefly Indian who are moving from a folk song to a popular
song stage. The material culture of these people, their village organ-
ization, the role of magic and medicine, their literature, their contacts
with a city world are all interestingly described. A remarkably val-

uable chapter is entitled "A Tepoztecan Book of Days" in which the holidays of the Tepoztecans are listed month by month throughout the year. A total of over sixty holidays or series of holidays are given. Some of these extend over two or three days. The Tepoztecan is living in two communities at the same time—a village and the city. He is undergoing certain changes as a result of living mentally in these two cultures.

The volume by Professor Manuel is noteworthy because of the detailed figures given of the education of Mexican and Spanish-speaking children. About 187,000 Mexican "Scholastics" (children of ages seven to seventeen inclusive) are reported for Texas, giving the estimated Mexican population of Texas at 800,000. Several excellent dot or spot maps are given. Sometimes the detailed pedagogical technique obscures the picture of the Mexican child, but everything considered, the painstaking educational findings are decidedly helpful. Not the least significant are the eighteen problems for further research that are described.

The report on Mexicans in California gives statistics and conclusions drawn therefrom on the Mexican population in California, on occupations and wage rates, on Mexican labor unions, health, relief, delinquency, crime, naturalization. The volume is a kind of Statesman's Year Book in its particular field. It is full of facts up to and including a part of 1928.   E. S. B.

THE PACIFIC BASIN. By GORDON L. WOOD. Clarendon Press, 1930, pp. xii+340.

The amply justified *raison d'etre* of this book is found in the "Foreword": "Like one of its own typhoons, a great change is sweeping across the Pacific Basin. The South Seas of song and story are passing, if, indeed, they are not already a mere idyll of sun-kissed lands and childlike peoples. . . . Places and peoples from China to Chile have been caught up in the great changes going forward. . . . The old order of hermit countries and uninhabited islands has gone forever." With remarkable attention to detail the author takes his readers on a "around the Pacific Basin" journey. The peoples of the Pacific Basin in their physical and economic settings are presented. New Zealand, Australia, Borneo, the Philippines, China, Japan, Alaska, California, Mexico, Columbia to Chile—these titles give the author's sweep.   E. S. B.

INDUSTRIAL VILLAGE CHURCHES. By E. de S. Brunner. The Institute of Social and Religious Research, New York, 1930, pp. xxi+193.

The data which are assembled and interpreted in this report pertain to the churches in relation to their environments in industrial villages. An industrial village has a population of between 250 and 2,500 and is dominated by industry. Approximately 4,000 villages, with a combined population of about 4,000,000, fall in this class. These villages are composed largely of foreign born and native whites, except the southern villages which have Negroes also. The population is composed of more males than females, a preponderance of young married people, and a high proportion of children; as contrasted with agricultural villages, which have more women than men and a preponderance of older people. The low wages, long hours, high percentage of gainfully employed, irregularity of employment and high labor turnover, bad houses and living conditions, and the frequent conflicts and resultant depressions make for an instability of the population and a lack of social organization.

The work of the church is further complicated by the differences in racial and nationality backgrounds, social and occupational cliques, paternalism, and the consequent community conflicts and cleavages. The church program is usually limited to worship services, Sunday schools, and a few additional organizations. The lack of trained leadership, together with an inadequate social program adjusted to the needs of the people, represent the weakest phases of the church life in industrial villages.   M. H. N.

SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY. By E. T. Krueger and Walter C. Reckless. Longmans, Green and Company, New York, 1931, pp. vii+578.

This new treatise on social psychology has been compiled, state the authors, not for the purpose of introducing new materials designed to illustrate a new point of view, but with an expressed intention of presenting an inventory of the most usable subject-matter in social-psychological observations and research. The fulfillment of this desire has resulted in bringing forth a fresh and clarified emphasis upon established basic social-psychologic principles, so far as these illustrate the particular approach which the authors have selected. This approach stresses particularly the study of the development of the social personality. An excellent sociologically-colored

description of the foundational bases of the constitution of the social personality is offered in the first chapter, and constitutes a finely executed essay on *human nature*. The subject of *social contacts* should prove to be invitingly challenging to all new students of the subject, and the handling of the theme on the theory of human motivation is entirely commendable. It is well, too, that the authors have introduced first-hand research documents which will afford the student means for studying actual social situations portraying the drives or urges toward activity, and for detecting the issuance of behavior patterns in action. Appendices which contain some well-selected biographical materials, questions for the guidance of study, and suggestions for further and more extended research, contribute to the value of the volume. Personally, I believe that a good book would have reached the summit of excellence if the authors had not decided to omit an analysis of collective behavior as manifested in crowds and in public opinion. M. J. V.

SOCIOLOGICAL THEORY AND SOCIAL RESEARCH. By CHARLES HORTON COOLEY. Henry Holt and Company, New York, 1930, pp. xiv+345.

In this book are assembled a dozen selected papers of the late Professor Cooley which have appeared in periodicals at intervals between 1894 and 1929. Several of them have had their birth as speeches at sociological conferences. The "Theory of Transportation" was accepted as his doctor's thesis in June, 1894. Regarding the entire selection, there is no pretension of central theme or unity. The various theories and principles concern such different topics as transportation, genius, fame and the comparison of races, personal competition, social process, and methods of research. His views regarding the sociology of Herbert Spencer, also of Sumner and methodology, receive each a chapter. "Personal Competition" as here reprinted, was later developed and incorporated in his *Social Process*. Another topic included, that of the development of the self-feeling in children, has reappeared in his *Human Nature and the Social Order*. Mr. Robert Cooley Angell has written a fine, sympathetic introduction which leaves the reader better acquainted with Doctor Cooley, for whom this book may be regarded as a tribute. There are many admirers of Cooley who will welcome this opportunity to make more complete their files of his writings. There is a bibliography which lists them all—31 books and papers. J. E. N.

BIRTH REGISTRATION AND BIRTH STATISICS IN CAN-
ADA. By Robert R. Kuczynski. The Brookings Institu-
tion, Washington, 1930, pp. xii+219.

This study of Canadian birth statistics has been made for the pur-
pose of continuing the line of investigation undertaken in the author's
preceding volume, entitled, *The Balance of Births and Deaths*.
"Canada," states the Director of the survey, "is the only country in
the world that has had a continuous series of birth records for three
centuries." Furthermore, these records, insofar as they report condi-
tions in French Canada, reveal the highest fecundity yet observed in
any country. English-speaking Canada records, however, are as de-
ficient in their completeness as those of the United States, due to a
reluctant clergy, busy physicians, lax civil officers, and careless par-
ents. The general excellence of the statistical recordings found in
French Canada is due to the efforts of the Catholic clergy. Strik-
ingly interesting is the revelation of an amazingly high birthrate
amongst the French-Canadian women of the province of Quebec in
former times; in 1665-1667, the yearly number of births per 1,000
women was about 350. Striking also is the decline noted by the
middle of the nineteenth century when this birthrate had dropped
to below 200 per 1,000 women, and in 1926-1928, when it further
fell to 135 per 1,000 women. Evidence deduced from statistical in-
formation seems to indicate that the number of children per woman
in 1665-1667 must have been 10 or 12, while in 1928, the average
number of children per woman was but 4.56. Fertility in the rest of
Canada is considerably lower; indeed, it approaches the low level of
that of western and northern Europe, which means that with this
low rate of fertility, the population of English-speaking Canada can-
not in the long run maintain itself.   M. J. V.

THE AMERICAN LEVIATHAN. The Republic in the Machine
Age. By Charles A. Beard and William Beard. The Mac-
millan Company, New York, 1930, pp. xv+824.

This treatise on American government, which unites politics, gov-
ernment, and technology as reflected in the federal system of the
United States, is one of the best commentaries on democracies ever
written—with all due respect to De Toqueville and Lord Bryce.
Their works are classic and of course have lasting interest, but the
present book brings up to date that which is permanent in the fed-

eral system plus the newer functions of government created in response to the demands of the machine age. In every respect, whether it be the legislative, executive, judicial, or the administrative subdivisions of the government, with their endless ramifications, the Constitution and the federal government have been moulded this way and that to keep in adjustment with technological progress. Thus a veritable Leviathan has come into being, as political institutions have been revolutionized along with the economic and social. This is a book on government, however, not on technology. What is presented is a dynamic and living democracy, conceived principally in the terms of political science. The story of development is told so naturally and easily that one is never conscious of difficulty over political theories or principles, and the urge to read on is strong. The authors have written for the benefit of the general reader and for that they deserve commendation, as well as for the excellence of their book.

J. E. N.

CHILDREN AT THE CROSSROADS. By AGNES E. BENEDICT. The Commonwealth Fund Division of Publication, New York, 1930, pp. 238.

This volume presents individual case stories of maladjusted rural children treated by visiting teachers in Monmouth County, New Jersey; Huron County, Ohio; and Boone County, Missouri. The book is divided into four parts, dealing respectively with the rural child and the community, the rural child at home and in the school, the work of the rural visiting teacher, and group work in the school and the community.

Poverty, ill health, family difficulties, and the lack of both recreation and occupation are reflected in the problems of rural children. Isolation and the lack of leadership are the great drawbacks to wholesome recreation. Both the improved one-room and the consolidated schools were found in the counties studied. However, many of the problems of the home and the school were fundamentally economic in nature. The rural teacher must cope with many difficult situations. The problem of individual adjustment often brings to light the larger problems of the school and the community.E. S. N.

Pacific Sociological Society Notes

The second annual meeting of the Pacific Sociological Society, formerly the Pacific Southwest Sociological Association, was held at the University of Southern California, January 17, 1931. The morning session was presided over by Professor Constantine Panunzio, San Diego State Teachers College. Dr. Gordon S. Watkins, University of California at Los Angeles, addressed the society on "Social Change in Russia." Dr. William Kirk, Pomona College, read a paper on "Cultural Conflicts in Mexican Life." "Balance in Leadership" was the subject of the presidential address by Emory S. Bogardus, University of Southern California.

A joint luncheon was held at noon with the Pacific Southwest Center of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, with President Rufus B. von KleinSmid presiding and Municipal Judge Pope as the speaker. "Law Enforcement and the Social Order" was the subject of his address.

The afternoon session was presided over by Dr. Loran D. Osborn, University of Redlands. The paper on "The Auto Camp as a New Kind of Hotel," by Dr. Norman Hayner, University of Washington, was read by Dr. Melvin J. Vincent and the discussion was led by Dr. Clarence M. Case. Dr. J. Stewart Burgess, Pomona College, read a paper on "Cultural Change in China," with Dr. Arthur G. Coons of Occidental College leading the discussion.

The object of the Pacific Sociological Society is to promote both sociological research and the teaching of sociology in the Pacific Coast region. The society encourages investigation and research in the theoretical and practical phases of sociology and social work and promotes the teaching of sociology in universities, colleges, and high schools.

In addition to the annual meeting in January, two special meetings are held during the spring and summer. The *Sociology and Social Research* journal publishes the leading papers. The papers of the annual meeting are reprinted as proceedings.

The regular membership fee is $3.00 per year, which includes a subscription to the Journal of *Sociology and Social Research*. Membership fee without the journal is one dollar. Application blanks as well as further information concerning the Society may be obtained from the Secretary-Treasurer, Walter Hertzog, California Christian College, Los Angeles.

Alpha Kappa Delta Notes

The United Chapters of Alpha Kappa Delta convened in Cleveland, Ohio, on December 30, 1930, for their biennial conference. A breakfast meeting was held at the Hollenden Hotel, where the general sessions of the American Sociological Society were in progress. Some fifty delegates and guset-members of the society were in attendance. President Kimball Young, University of Wisconsin, presided at the meeting. Items of business included the report of Secretary-Treasurer, E. L. Morgan, University of Missouri. He reported a steady increase in interest and activity among the chapters. The petition of the Sociology Club of the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N.C., received favorable action from the national delegates and the installation of this new chapter of Alpha Kappa Delta will take place early this year.

The report of the nominating committee, Professor John L. Gillin, Chairman, was accepted in toto and the new officers of the organization are the following: President, Robert Angell, University of Michigan; Vice-President, Kimball Young, University of Wisconsin; Secretary-Treasurer, Calvin Dietrich, University of Wisconsin; Executive Committee—E. S. Bogardus, University of Southern California, and E. L. Morgan, University of Missouri. A unanimous vote of thanks was given to the outgoing officers for their conscientious and energetic service to the society during the past year. Under the new officers, the United Chapters of Alpha Kappa Delta anticipates still further stimulation and realization of their national purpose of sociological research in the interests of human welfare.

F. L. N.

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA CHAPTER

Dr. George Day, professor of sociology, Occidental College, addressed the Alpha chapter of Alpha Kappa Delta at their February meeting on "Present Conditions in Soviet Russia." Dr. Day recently returned from a three months' sojourn in Russia. He contrasted the conditions of today with the Russia he knew before the War.

The outstanding impression which one receives in Russia is that the people manifest a buoyant enthusiasm and hope. They are determined, no matter what the sacrifice, to accomplish the Five-Year Plan in four years.

Drastic reforms have taken place in the curriculum and the method of instruction in higher education. The lecture system, called the "passive" method, has given way to the round table discussion method, styled the "active" method. The student body personnel has changed completely since the pre-war days. Most of the students come from the labor and peasant classes. Industry and university education are closely connected .

About 40 per cent of the churches are open with services as usual, attended largely by the middle-aged and older people, but not by the Communists. The society of militant atheists is carrying on a vigorous campaign against religion. A new department of anti-religion has been established in the University of Leningrad. Posters, leaflets, lectures, motion pictures and other forms of propaganda are used to undermine religion. The doctrines of Marx and Engels are substituted for it.

The institution of the family is not only recognized but encouraged by the Soviet authorities. The bureau for the registration of marriages and divorces in Moscow reported a decrease in the divorce rate and a greater stabilization of marriage. No traces were found of homeless orphans and waifs, the "wild hordes" reported by newspapers.

Russia is making rapid progress in collective farming and the development of industrial projects, in education and the reduction of illiteracy, in the health programs, and particularly in her state planning. The country is seething with interest and problems for the students of social life, and the advances which are being made by the Soviet Republic represent a challenge to the capitalistic nations.

<div align="right">M. H. N.</div>

International Notes

Edited by JOHN ERIC NORDSKOG

THE EUROPEAN PACT for a federation of European states, as projected by Aristide Briand, has not been accomplished as yet, but economic maladjustment, not a little of it due to ill-advised tariff policies, is urging the step. Some twenty-six European foreign ministers canvassed the situation during January, but unfortunately, the question of including Turkey and Soviet Russia as participants threatened division of Europe into two camps. Neither Turkey nor Russia is a member of the League of Nations, which causes the stumbling block. Representatives of twenty-four European countries resumed discussion of the problem in February.

ARISTIDE BRIAND is surely the grand man of France in these days. He retains his portfolio, while cabinets back home in Paris come and go. Since France has no single strong party able to maintain control, the group system now in effect is unable to handle the crises which cause the downfall of the government every few weeks, or months at best. Briand has the confidence of the people and is able to carry forward international policies even when national affairs are in turmoil.

SPANISH MONARCHY is facing another and greater crisis. After seven years of dictatorship, that form of government has failed. Revolt, revolution, strikes calling out as many as 500,000 persons, death to leaders of revolt and imprisonment for as many as can be packed into the jails—of such nature have been the pictures of Spain during the last three months. One day King Alfonso is reported in a tight spot. Next Alfonso bows to his enemies and a constitutional monarchy is ready to be set up, but the cabinet fails to materialize. Next day he is staving off military dictatorship, and the monarchists unite. Admiral Abnar is then successful in forming a monarchist cabinet, which includes Berenguer, whose cabinet had been forced to resign. The first undertaking promised is the municipal, provincial,

and parliamentary elections, but the opposition intends to refrain from participating in the elections to be called by the government. They fear that the government will lose its independence because it is too close to the King. Meanwhile, the Labor and Socialist groups are considering whether to call a general walkout. The strike would be a protest against the new Monarchist Cabinet and also against any government but a republic. What is the meaning of all this? Some of the monarchists have expressed lack of confidence in the present King. There is a powerful urge toward constitutional revision, which might result in a 'democratized monarchy' with curtailment of the powers of the King. Perhaps a parliamentary monarchy like that of England may be worked out, a republic with a king. Alfonso may promise his people a democratic and liberal rule, the renewal of constitutional guarantees, and removal of censorship, but a Spanish republic seems to be more to their fancy. At any rate, they do not want dictatorship and autocracy. And they may even dispense with a king. By the way, it is reported that Alfonso XIII of Spain, through a "straw man," has purchased a chateau at Talence, near Bordeaux, which would make a handy refuge.

INDIA has a new problem in the proposal of Dr. Mohammed Iqbal that an islandic State ought to be formed out of three provinces— the Northwest Frontier Province, the Punjab, Baluchistan, and a part of a fourth, Sindh. With an area of 200,000 square miles and a population numbering upwards of 28,500,000, the project is ambitious enough. The excuse given is that of self-government within the British Empire, and it is claimed that tension between Moslems and Hindus and other minorities would be relieved by the creation of this Moslem State. Hindus are against the entire plan, however, explaining that it would divide India into Moslem and non-Moslem parts and eventually destroy India. The people of India have been so engrossed with anti-British tactics that the Moslems have been able to slip in a blow almost unawares. A new religious and theocratic state in what is now India would not help matters.

THE GERMAN REICHSTAG is supposedly torn open, and a two-parliament threat is current. Staged under the leadership of Adolph Hitler, the Fascists and Nationalists walked out on February 10. The Fascists (National Socialists) may carry out a plan to call an opposition sitting at Weimar. For the moment, Hitlerites hope they

have crippled the Reichstag, but actually, the legislative body is happy to be free of a disturbing element. Rather than have the "exodus" impair Parliament's prestige, it is apt to gain a larger measure of popular support. Chancellor Bruening, able economist and leader that he is, has risen to the occasion in most admirable fashion. The administration's power has been greater than Hitler expected. It remains to be seen how much influence will be wrought by the wave of National Socialist meetings and propaganda which are about to sweep the nation. Whether Germany takes up with the National Socialists (Hitler's fascism) or the Communists, the outcome foreseen by a Leipzig journal is Bolshevism. There is plenty of evidence in the German press that Fascism is at war with Socialism and Communism. The socialists have gone to such lengths as to ask the Communists to aid them in a common cause. At Bonn, Fascists and Communists clashed with fists and pistols, causing injury to a number of persons. Such incidents may of course be staged for emotional effect. Hitler is counting on the discontent of the masses of the people. His slogan is "Down with democracy." He is playing up the psychology of defeat. Fascism is supposed to place the individual in a subordinate position, society always recognized as of first importance. Society is the end, the individuals are the means. But it is difficult to see where Hitler is offering the German people anything constructive. He is of course advocating redress against the Young Plan and the Versailles treaty, and the blunders of Germany's post-war regime. On the other hand, the Bruening Government has so far proved stronger than Hitlerism. Bruening insists upon legality, and a policy of integrity. The world is a grim reality for him, and he holds the people to a realization of that fact. It resolves into a struggle between informed and established order represented by the Bruening Government versus Fascism. But the latter has its own duel with Socialism and Communism, and if either were to succeed, Germany might fall to the Bolsheviks. A revision of the dictatorship imposed upon Germany by the Versailles treaty would have fundamental effect on the whole situation.

IN THE JAPANESE DIET a bill has been introduced to give women the right to vote in municipal elections. Indications now are that the bill will pass both Houses of the Diet. If the sample of political power works out well, eventually the Japanese women will have

equal rights with men to vote and hold office. Each of 103 cities, 1,503 towns, and 10,494 villages in Japan has its own assembly, and the Mikado has 15,500,000 female subjects who will be affected directly. Movements of this kind indicate to what extent Japan is actually shaking off old traditions. No other nation in the world has made as much material progress during the last fifty years as has Japan, and social and political changes would naturally accompany the usual results of technology.

INDIA, with her extremes of wealth and poverty, especially the poverty, has a new $100,000,000 capital which was dedicated by Viceroy Lord Irwin on February 10th. Nineteen years ago it was conceived and planned as a "monument to the ideal and the fact of British rule in India." The entire history of India is typified in the architecture of this city of government, located at New Delhi. The federal form of government in process for India thus has its national center already provided.

RUSSIANS have been seeking skilled workers abroad. Owing to the five-year industrialization plan, government officials in Moscow have estimated that 13,000 additional foreign engineers, technicians, and skilled workers will be needed in 1931. The soviet technical schools have been unable to develop native talent sufficiently. England and America are regarded as the best sources for engineers. On the other hand, members of the intelligentsia are being ousted from positions of responsibility, because dictator Stalin does not believe in raising men to power and perhaps allow them to develop into rivals. To safeguard himself, he "unmakes" his various lieutenants. Thus Rykoff was forced to retire as head of the Union Council of Peoples Commissars, which virtually means Premier of Russia. And now another Soviet leader, David Ryazanov, has been dropped as director of the Marx-Engels Institute of Research. These are political casualties. There are not so few of them. The policy seems to have been that of using the really necessary intelligentsia until Communist substitutes are able to replace them.

THE EUROPEAN AGRICULTURAL SISUATION is reported as very serious owing to the recent dumping of wheat and other staples by Russia, and now the United States Farm Board plans to sell about 35,000,000 bushels of wheat in continental markets at sacrifice prices

lower than those prevailing at home—another case of dumping. Not only will Rumania, Poland, Jugo-Slavia, Bulgaria and Hungary suffer from the slump in prices, but so will Canada and Argentina. After the criticism raised in the United States against Russia for dumping, it should be rather embarrassing for the Farm Board to announce a similar program. A world grain pact has been suggested as the only solution, which sounds deceptively easy. World agreements to control the production and distribution of anything are exceptionally difficult to carry out fairly, if they can be realized at all. It is another illustration of how much the world has shrunk.

POLAND is apparently none too friendly toward the Soviet system, since the Left Wing of the Polish Socialist Party, which is accused of Communistic tendencies, will be suppressed.

BRAZIL bids welcome to 12,000 Japanese immigrants for the year 1931, which of course is cause for happiness in Japan. Brazil has suffered considerable unemployment and economic depression quite as much as other countries, and racial questions have also been voiced in the Parliament; nevertheless, Japanese immigration will continue. There is a practical promise that undesirable Japanese will not be allowed to leave Japan for Brazil, which is no more than right. It will be interesting to note to what extent amalgamation occurs in the future. Brazil is regarded as a country with almost no color line, and racial intolerance for the Japanese should accordingly be at a minimum. Brazil may be a laboratory for a large human experiment in racial blending.

Social Fiction Notes

LUMBER. By Louis Colman. Little, Brown and Company, Boston, 1931, pp. 296.

Relentless in its tragic sweep, this new novel, *Lumber,* is a stirring and passionate document of the life of a young worker in the Northwest lumber country. Less skillfully written, the story might almost have been mistaken for a bit of propaganda in behalf of the underdog; as it is, with its note of universal struggle, the theme possesses that plaintive but striking call for an examination of the causal forces underlying the creation of the rebellious attitudes of the industrial lumber-mill workers. Its tragic hero, endowed with some fine tragic flaws, is Jimmie Logan whose father was a lumber-jack and whose mother was a woman of easy virtue. Losing his father, his only protector, Jimmie sets out in search of whatever happiness there may be for him in the world. Drifting from job to job, he finally gets a war-time job with big pay in the ship yards of the northwest. Casually seeking for a woman, he meets Pearl and marries her without much forethought. All goes well until the tide of industrial depression following in the wake of the war causes him to lose his big war-time pay envelope. Out of sympathy, he has joined the I.W.W., but has never taken a very definite part in its activities. Its red card in his possession proves to be for him a veritable scarlet letter, and he narrowly escapes the usual destructive treatment of the wobblies at the hands of an enraged public mind colored with patriotic symbols. His association is well-known, however, and he is watched by spies. Strikes, loss of jobs, death of his two children, and his wife's honor betrayed—all these catastrophes follow and pursue him like the furies in a Greek tragic epic. And the finale occurs when he himself meets death in the saw-mill.

The strife of the workers is finely portrayed; the usual blundering methods of the big-stick policy are unusually well sketched and treated with just the right tempo of restraint that adds to impressiveness of sketch. M. J. V.

THE RING OF THE LÖWENSKÖLDS. By Selma Lagerlöf.
Doubleday, Doran and Company, Inc., Garden City, New
York, 1931, pp. 123+328+367.

The author is well known as the first woman to win the Nobel
Prize for Literature, with an imposing list of successful books to her
credit. Of commanding interest is this trilogy, of which *The Gen-
eral's Ring* and *Charlotte Löwensköld* were written some three years
ago, and now completed with the third story entitled *Anna Svard*.
These books are derived from the living folk lore and social history
of Sweden. The attitudes of peasants and upper classes, the nobil-
ity, and the significance of the church in the community, all have so-
ciologic interest.

After the theft of the General's ring from his grave in 1741, the
traditions and superstitions of the eighteenth century continue to
find expression as they influence the lives of several generations of
Löwenskölds. Bad luck, fateful and tragic deaths of innocent per-
sons unwittingly involved, continue to happen until the ring has
been returned to the grave, or until the curse pronounced by the
peasant girl who mourned her dead lover has been fulfilled. The
stories are illustrative of the power of the dead hand. Also, the
damning influence of even one evil person who works mischief and
misunderstanding between others is well brought out. On the other
hand, blind faith and self-righteousness are empty, and loving serv-
ice to mankind is the all important thing.

The translations from the Swedish by Francesca Martin and Vel-
ma Swanston Moward deserve especial commendation. We are for-
tunate in having the three stories available in an attractive one-vol-
ume format.   J. E. N.

Social Photoplay Notes

EAST LYNNE

Years ago when there were no motion pictures and stark melo-drama was the note on the stage, *East Lynne* was the play in the reportory of all stock companies that could be relied upon to draw an audience. Talking motion pictures have developed since then and comedy now takes precedence over melodrama in popular ap-peal; yet *East Lynne* has been recreated as a talking picture—and a highly successful one, too.

The picture is worthy of anyone's time from the standpoint of: acting, photography, and sociological content. Ann Harding plays the leading part realistically without overdoing it. She can be lover, joyous, or grief-stricken,—and the audience is convinced. To take the lead in a melodrama without overacting is a distinct achievement.

For those interested in sociology, there is plenty of it in *East Lynne*. Of course there is the main theme dealing with the harsh-ness, as far as women were concerned, of divorce laws in England; there is brought out in the picture the great degree to which the av-erage individual is "prejudice bound"; and there is included a con-trast of the "before" and the "after" when soldiers go to war; but these more obvious social factors did not seem nearly so outstanding to the reviewer as the way in which, throughout the picture, was demonstrated to what a large extent personality is group-made. Every character in the picture strives to live the role the group wherein his major interest lies has dictated. Lady Isabel, product of London society, never quite fits into life at staid East Lynne, and her husband with a Parliamentary career before and an East Lynne background behind him cannot understand what seems to be his wife's frivolous, unconventional nature.

And so in this light the picture becomes a web of interacting group interests. The domestic troubles of Lady Isabel and her husband are magnified by the lack of understanding based on unlike group back-grounds; and likewise the friendliness of Lady Isabel's former lover is exaggerated by the fact that both seemingly have so many inter-ests in common. *East Lynne* as a talking picture presents the ap-pearance of being the result of careful, well thought out directing.

G. D. N.

Sociology and Social Research

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Articles in Forthcoming Issues

(May-June, 1931, and later)

Articles in Preceding Issue

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